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PROBING LANGUAGE IN TANZANIA WITHIN WESTERN ORIENTED
BUSINESS ORGANISATIONS

Analysis of senior managers' workplace discourses in different social
groups

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ABSTRACT

This study from Tanzania contributes to the understanding of the management discourses circulating amongst senior managers in Western-owned companies in Tanzania. It identifies two dominant discourses, a Western derived Contractual discourse and the local derived Kinship discourse. The division of their use is not by ethnic origin of senior managers but are drawn on in various ways by all managers.

This research focuses on senior experienced managers from three different nationalities who were asked to tell stories from their experiences in management life. Their stories contain their perceptions of various populations and show their evaluations of those populations. Analysis shows how people draw on discourses circulating within their societies, reveals these actual underlying discourses, and explores the languages used in communication. Two sets of communication languages emerged from this analysis, the Western *contractual* and the local *kinship* discourse. Western contractual thinking rests upon efficiency and profit-making. This stands in contrast to the kinship thinking which is rooted in communal and humanistic values. These contrasting discourses contribute to misunderstanding, but there is common ground between them. If this commensurable dimension is internalised, a local Tanzanian management discourse may appear that would represent a new management discourse. An organisational framework that may support this discourse's emergency and circulation is suggested.

Key words: Kinship, Knowledge, Orientalism, Occident, Tanzania, Discourse

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Dedications

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1.0 – INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to offer the background of this study; why it was conducted and what drove me to conduct it.

This introduction presents, firstly, a brief background to the study, in which I outline how my interest in the subject arose, my links to the region and the context of the study. I also describe the location and explain briefly Tanzania, the geographical research area. I consider the need for this type of study and the structure of the thesis.

This study, not unusually, emerged as a consequence of curiosity. In my case, I was curious to find out why some Western companies operating in Sub-Saharan Africa succeed year after year and maintain high market share and high profits, whilst other similar companies do not. In this thesis, Western companies are to be understood as companies whose ownership resides in ‘the West’, and/or whose managers are predominantly Western ex-patriates. By ‘the West’ is understood Europe. The ‘West’ is indirectly defined by Said, when he writes; “modern Orientalism derives from secularisation of elements in the eighteen-century European culture” (Said 1979:120). As such, these are companies that are strongly influenced by Western management systems and management thought.

My original interest in Africa started at a time I was working in a paper mill, which exported goods all around the world. The mill had close connections to paper and board exporters. When a position as a sales

manager arose at one of these exporters in their affiliate branches in Lagos, I moved to Nigeria. At that time (1971), Lagos was a city of around 2,0 million inhabitants, compared with the present 23 million (Mongabay, 2015). Most colonial business representatives left following the indigenisation decrees – the first in 1972 and the last in 1978. In the 1970s, Orientalism as a concept and area for academic study had not been formulated. Yet, I remember clearly being struck by the attitudes and assumptions of supremacy among the British who set the rules of behaviour and the ethics for young white men. A young man should not mix too much with locals. In the office work was influenced by the British system, the procedures and guidelines on how to behave and relate to staff. The office routines were consequently full of control systems to prevent locals from taking advantage of their jobs in the organisation and thus implying that they were less trustworthy.

Whilst visiting Lagos and indeed Africa for the first time, I had opportunities to make numerous visits to the local markets to understand the local lifestyle and to test the national dish, chicken, juice of red pepper and yam, a kind of potato prepared as stew. However, although I was not tempted to try that dish again, the environment did capture my imagination and interest and happily my stay lasted eight years. I revisited Nigeria in the mid-1980s, this time as a trade representative of the Norwegian governmental trade promotion organisation. I found the Nigerian environment dramatically changed. The economy was no longer flourishing and personal safety had become an issue. Again, I returned to Nigeria in 2001, after years as commercial counsellor in Norwegian Embassies in

China, Netherlands, the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia. My position, in 2001, was Sales and Marketing Director for a cement factory in Sokoto, Northern Nigeria. Once more dramatic changes were observed. The 'North' was full of empty industrial buildings and warehouses, shells from a busy past. In the whole area of Northern Nigeria, only two larger factories remained, the one I worked for and a competitor. My job was to re-establish the company's market position and brand its products for local sales. This challenge allowed me to observe other Western companies. Some Western companies from the 1970s seemed to have survived and were still operating successfully. What could be the reason for this? What were the success factors of these businesses? In other words, why or how had they endured?

Working in a European owned company the mantra was to ensure benchmarking, KPIs (Key Performance Indicators), strategic planning, economic measuring of all operational factors and outsourcing non-strategic labour to save cost (Kaplan and Norton, 1996, 2001). The accompanying application was "SAP" - an accounting system software that catered for everything from financial planning to marketing. (SAP AG, 2015). Massive PowerPoint presentations represented what we might call the internal communication lingua franca. Could this be the supposed supremacy of the Western way of doing business, its financial, production and management capability moving ahead, hardly influenced by the local context? Profit appeared satisfactory in relation to the benchmarks. No one questioned whether or how profit could improve, as the decision parameters could not be questioned. The parameters were part of the

overall corporate strategic decision. This pattern is also observed in other companies and represents a general pattern in many industrial undertakings. After the Sokoto stay, I worked for some years as Vice President, Sales for the African division of a larger corporation. This job included shorter and longer stays in several African countries. My former observations of Western companies' position was reconfirmed in most countries visited.

The market experience in Sokoto indicated that strict economic control was necessary. However, in sales and branding, other parameters took precedence and represented a rich mix of approaches. My experience suggested that, generally, it is not possible to create market demand without adapting to the market needs unless the company has monopoly or is part of a strong oligopoly. The buyers are all human and they do not think and communicate in PowerPoint, although their behaviour and preferences are reflected in this format when presented internally within the company. My sales and market organisation was reshaped into smaller units in line with the guidelines of Champy (1995). This was done to reflect the local environment of my staff and position the factory as part of the social context. This seemed to work very well and encouraged the staff to become much more engaged in their work. The outcome was a strong brand that became so powerful that the local banks accepted payment cheques issued to the brand name, not only the formal company name. Before, a European corporation bought the company, the company had operated differently with a different policy under Nigerian governmental management. However, I lack information about this beyond the anecdotal

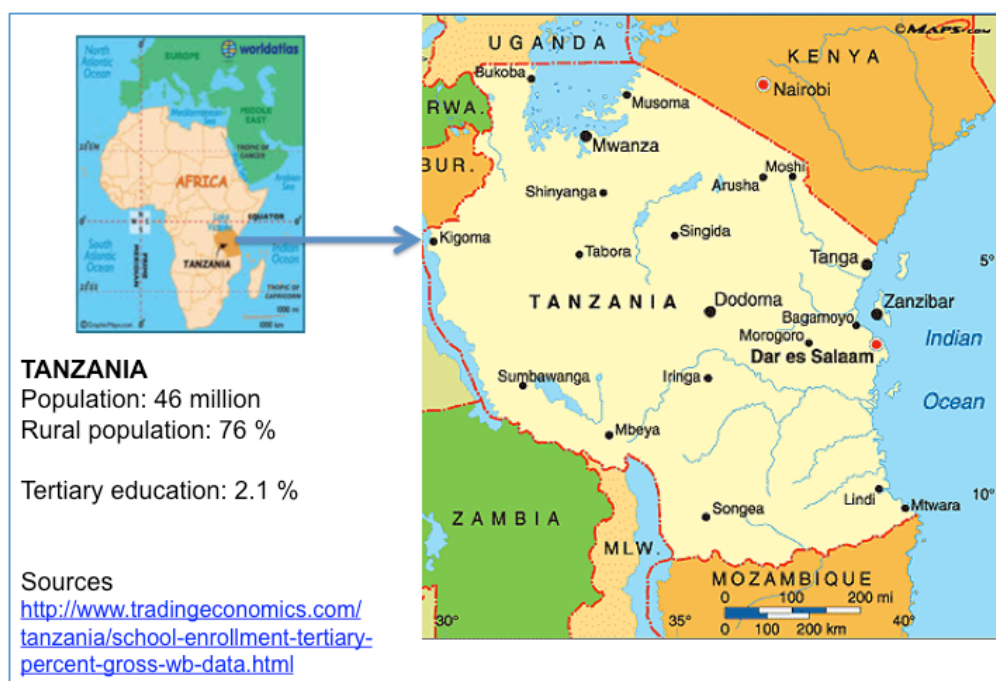
and will not discuss it any further. Obviously, I had done something right, but at that time I did not have the knowledge and ability to theorise what had taken place; what specifically had caused the change. I knew that things improved greatly in terms of relationships with the staff when I adopted a contextualised approach. What I could not know at that time was precisely what had brought about the improvements and this was part of the reason for this study.

With the benefit of hindsight, I can clearly see that the study discussed in this thesis should have been conducted in Sokoto as that experience indicated a useful means to understand the success of some companies. However, the activities of Boko Haram, a terrorist group in Northern Nigeria, prevented a return. Subsequently, an assignment in Tanzania opened up the opportunity for research and to find an answer as to why some Western companies succeed. This brings us to the setting and context of this study. In the following section Tanzania is briefly introduced.

1.2 Tanzania

As can be seen in figure 1.2 below, Tanzania is on the east coast of Sub-Saharan Africa and has borders with eight countries: Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Peoples Republic of Congo, Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique.

Figure 1.2 Tanzania



Tanzania is generally a politically stable country and is perceived by most foreigners as a good country in which to work and live, (World Bank 2015). The dominant political party, the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM or in English; the Party of Revolution), has ruled the country since its independence from British rule in 1963. Gradually, the party has introduced a full multiparty system. However, it still retains its dominant position and controls the formation of new parties and the appointment of some parliament members. In this way, the party remains firmly in control of parliament and political decisions (Nyirabu, 2002).

Tanzania was not regarded as a rich country, but this is changing. Foreign aid has decreased from 42 per cent of GDP in 2007/2008 to 24 per cent in 2010/1022, and this reflects the country's growing economy and autonomy, (Policy Forum, 2010) Tanzania's economy has undergone substantial changes with less inflation and improved macroeconomic

stability. The governmental expenditure is less and the increased domestic revenue has reduced the need for aid as indicated above. The economy is gradually being liberalised and trade is increasing (Tanzania Development Report 2014, published 2015). The recent discovery of gas and oil is likely to further strengthen positive economic development.

Despite these positive developments, Tanzania still faces problems in its production industries, predominantly mining, construction and manufacturing. The construction sector is one of the fastest growing and accounted for 35 per cent of the industrial sector output in the 2000s. The manufacturing sector represents the weakest of the three industrial sectors and current signs indicate stagnation. This is particularly disappointing as manufacturing historically has been essential for economic transformation. According to the Tanzania Development Report 2014 (published 2015), the stagnation in manufacturing is partly due to limited types of industrial products and that most of Tanzania's production is resource based goods with low value added content.

Having discussed briefly the history and current status of business and trade in Tanzania, the aims and objectives of this study can now be considered.

1.3 Aims and objectives of the study

There are two key resources for any business organisation: its material and human resources. According to contemporary management thinking, it is an organisation's ability to develop its human resources that may create sustainability and competitiveness (Barney 2002, Grant 2005, Porter,

1996). People management and how people create harmonious, reflective organisations is in other words important for competitive advantage in companies, (Barney 2002, Huxham and Beech 2003). This applies also to companies in Africa. The biggest influence on any company and its durability is arguably its senior management (Barney 2002), and generally, Western companies in Africa are managed by small groups of managers headed by the managing director, who work in their own, specialised fields and usually represent a mix of ethnic or social groups. There is therefore a large amount of diversity within the senior management teams, and between senior management teams and other staff, and there may be resulting differences in their understanding of themselves, the ways in which work should be carried out, and the staff they work with, that may influence how they carry out their managerial function.

That is, all managers are influenced by external, environmental and local, internal *discourses* (Watson 2008). These discourses guide managers' perceptions in their conduct of their management roles. The discourses may be different for different groups of managers (such as groups of European expatriate managers or groups that share the local ethnic culture); there may be layers of instrumental elements not common to all the social groups. Exploring these discourses and the ways they influence management activities may offer a way to understand why some organisations are able to harmonise and prosper while others do not. This may in turn reveal possible commensurable dimensions that can be reconciled or adapted to create harmonious, reflective top management teams and thus support the continuation of the organization over time.

This, together with the previous experiences that provided the rationale for this study (see above), lead to the following aims of this study.

This study aims, firstly, to explore the perceptions of themselves and other groups held by senior managers drawn from the different social groups involved in senior management in Western-owned or managed companies in Tanzania. Secondly, this thesis aims to identify the discourses that drive these perceptions, and to establish the commensurabilities and incommensurabilities between these discourses.

1.4 The need for this research

There are several reasons why this research is useful. One reason, already mentioned above, is the stagnation in the manufacturing sector in Tanzania. African and Western researchers note that little contextual research has been conducted and would like more studies focusing on African knowledge in order to develop management, leadership and, implicitly, African knowledge (Nkomo, 2011, Jack and Westwood, 2006, Zoogah, 2008, 2009, Beugré and Offodile, 2001). Africa needs industry and especially manufacturing industry to explore its resources, and preferably by its own indigenous people. African countries also need to attract foreign investors as foreign capital may provide not only financial support, but also knowledge on how to operate industry. These industrial investors will need an alternative understanding of African management and leadership than that derived from the biased colonial discourse of Orientalism.

1.5 The structure of the thesis

The study's methodology is a discourse analysis embedded in the colonial discourse of Orientalism, which many authors argue was first introduced as a subject of academic study by Edward Said in his book *Orientalism* (1979) (Ahluwalia, 2001, Williams and Chrisman, 1994). The rationale for choosing this approach will be provided in Chapter 3.

1.0 – Introduction – presents the approach and empirical elements.

2.0 – Literature Review – considers-- the existing literature on management in Africa and includes an introduction to some societal discourses. The chapter investigates relevant research by others researchers.

3.0 – Methodology – describes the epistemological and methodological approach to gathering and exploring data..

4.0 – Analysis One – Managerial Perceptions, explores how the interviewees perceive themselves and their management colleagues' approaches to people management.

5.0 – Analysis two - Organisational Discourses, presents the managers' stories. They construct accounts of how societal and organisational themes influence their management roles.

6.0 – Analysis three - Managerial Discourses in an Organisational Context – examines the accounts through a discursive and binary analysis and reveals discourses and commensurable dimensions.

7.0 – Discussion – develops a theory to answer the research question.

8.0 – Conclusions - suggests application, limitations and weaknesses, presents reflections and proposes further research.

This has established the background and context for the study. The next chapter will investigate previous research and other relevant literature to explore what is already known about management in African countries in the postcolonial era.

2.0 – LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the literature which covers previous research into this topic, The previous chapter developed the research aims, which are to explore:

Firstly, the perceptions of themselves and other groups held by senior managers drawn from the different social groups involved in senior management in Western-owned or managed companies in Tanzania.

Secondly, the discourses that drive these perceptions, and to establish the commensurabilities and incommensurabilities between these discourses.

This literature review will address several relevant areas in order to frame the research questions that arise from these aims.

2.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE REVIEW

Research from relevant parts of Sub Saharan Africa will be discussed in this chapter. The review will focus on colonial and local kinship discourses, as well as postcolonial theory. The aim of the chapter is to contextualise this study within the body of previous findings from other academic authors and commentators. It will help to generate the research questions that arise from the aims of the study. Initially, the tendency to generalise about 'Africa' is discussed to account at least in part for the lack of informed and robust supporting research.

This field research is undertaken within the context of Tanzania and Tanzanian conditions. Research findings from other parts of Sub-Saharan Africa may represent useful, but not necessarily transferable findings due to cultural, economic and infrastructural differences. Generally, the geographical focus is on areas that were former colonies of the British Empire. Other areas, in particular those previously part of the French Empire, represent a different culture and management practices (Barsoux and Lawrence, 1997).

The initial literature review indicated few studies by indigenous field researchers to answer the research question. Very few authors wrote from the viewpoint of having lived in Africa, and generalisations were evident as regards, for example, elements of traditional behaviour and social systems (Zoogah, 2009, Dogbe, 1980). Aldous (1962) and Alber and Martin (2010) found that the social web of kinship remains, but the social practices vary both over time and place. It remains to determine the extent to which research can be generalised in local contexts, as cultures are rather different in Sub-Saharan Africa. This question is supported by demand for contextualised and local research by indigenous Africans (Zoogah, 2008, 2009, Nkomo and Zoogah in Lituchy et al, 2013).

2.2 METHOD

The initial review revealed that studies of interest covered a number of topics, although two sources in particular contained potentially useful information, the databases of JSTOR and EBSCO host. At the same time, it was also a matter of economic affordability to access the texts. The

spread of relevant articles from different journals and across topics is noted by Nkomo and Zoogah, who investigate management research in their book *Management in Africa* (editors: Lituchy et al., 2013).

The first literature search did not only reveal the limited number of relevant articles, but also the very little comparable research that has been conducted. Consequently, searching for and reviewing the literature became a continuous process from the initial attempt to identify similar and supportive studies, to expansion of the review process throughout the time of study. This is the character of qualitative research (Morse et al., 2002). Article references were examined, and new points of view needed discussion; correspondingly, further studies were needed as support. In this manner, the literature review became an iterative process and expanded beyond the initial search words (Morse et al., 2002).

2.2.1 Review scope – criteria

In this review of useful literature is consideration of the Western thinking of business research; this is strongly influenced by the field experience of the author of this thesis. Experience indicates that without adapting and even absorbing and applying local cultural knowledge in Western management practices, it is difficult to establish sustainable communication and reflective management in the local environment that facilitates the management of daily operations. These observations from managerial practice are supported by academic research, including Zoogah's (2008) literature review in "Journal of African Business" and the study of Nwagbara (2012). Beugré and Offodile (2001) as well as Nyambegera (2002) adopt this

perspective in their writing. Research articles are considered more valuable than books which tend not to be supported by refereed research (Nkomo and Zoogah in Lituchy et al, 2013). Articles facilitate a deeper understanding of the context of the research and, as already indicated, due to the cultural environment, it was considered important to identify contextual articles. The meaning of contextual encompasses research related to Tanzanian and English speaking Sub-Saharan Africa. Indigenous Sub-Saharan African authors have a higher comprehension of the African context. Their research may consequently have higher significance than both African-American and other researchers not residing in Africa, who view the continent from quite different social environments (Nkomo and Zoogah in Lituchy et al, 2013).

The literature review has the strength claimed by Zoogah (2008) of discussing both contextualised and non-contextualised management research. It seeks a potential synthesis of African and Western knowledge. It does this in part through drawing on an early pilot study conducted in Ghana during the taught stage of the DBA. This study extends understanding of local kinship cultures (see section 3.2.1, page 58)

2.2.2 Review framework

A major assumption in this thesis, based on the author's long experience of observing businesses in Africa, is that managers together may create reflective harmonious organisations, (Barney 2002, Grant 2005, Porter 1996, 1998, Watson 2008, Huxham and Beech 2003), but differences in their perceptions of their fellow managers and their staff may influence the

success or failure of such an endeavour. The literature suggests that managers are influenced by internal and external discourses that combine to form the perception of themselves and others, (Huxham and Beech 2003), and by external, environmental and internal factors (Barney 2005, Grant 2005, Watson 2008).

More specifically, external factors include history, culture, politics and also texts that support environmental business analysis, industry analysis and the market value configurations. The internal factors relate to local culture, inter-personal relationships and texts that serve as input for organisational value configurations, culture and resource analysis. These factors influence choices for senior management and tensions regarding what to decide within management. But it is important to understand how managers interpret these texts and how they are influenced by culture, history, politics and so on. Watson (2008) draws attention to how managers are influenced by discursive pressures but do not passively experience them in seeking to secure their identities. Understanding of how they interpret external and internal factors is therefore necessary.

Organisational constructs may also influence how managers communicate, and relate to each other and to others in the organisation. They require a reflective ability that influences not only their internal work, but also how they influence others in their organisation.

. Since the focus is on Western influenced management, it is important to include the colonial influence in line with the thinking of, for example, Nkomo (2011) and Jack et al (2011). In *Orientalism*, Said (1979)

introduced postcolonial theory and the construct of Africa (for a discussion see Ahluwalia, 2001, Frenkel and Shenhav, 2006). Orientalism is embedded in postcolonialism, which informs the overall argument in this thesis. Literature, such as “Colonial discourse and post-colonial theory, a reader”, by Williams and Chrisman (1994), represents meaningful background reading.

Contextual research, and specific country research, as mentioned above, is the most valuable. This is particularly relevant in the case of Tanzania and further suggests that Tanzania is different from many other Sub-Saharan African countries. The impact of its recent political history, the socialist Ujamaa programme, and the fact that the tribal systems used to be weak, created a different kind of kinship from other African countries, a communal construct heavily influenced by people from different tribes (Spalding, 1996). Generalisations from other parts of Sub-Saharan Africa, which have different tribal dynamics, are likely to produce biased and misleading representations if viewed as relevant to Tanzania. In addition, this is a business-oriented research within an English context. Behaviour in other kinds of organisations like governmental offices and NGOs may be quite different, although existing in the same cultural context.

2.3 CATEGORISATION OF LITERATURE

The literature search found the following studies, which are categorised for a clearer understanding of the objectives of this thesis and of researchers with the same aims (see table 2.3 page 18). Each category of authors, like

‘African ‘or ‘non-African’, may contain more than one author. The background of the authors was mostly listed on the web and/or was described in research articles. In many cases the names indicated the origin but this is not necessarily always the case.

Table 2.3 Literature review

Subjects	No of Articles	Category of authors		
		African	Non-African	Combination
African management practices	18	12	6	
Western management practices in Africa	3		3	
Kinship, family, tribe, culture Ujamaa	25	11	13	1
Post-colonial oriented subaltern, mimicry	12	2	8	2
Philosophy, tradition, learning	7	3	3	1
Western management theories	2	0	2	
Total	67	28	35	4

These articles are published in 40 journals; the highest number (four) appear in *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. Some articles are published by the researchers’ universities rather than in peer reviewed journals. The categorisation supported the research enquiry.

For reviews of management practices, the search was divided into two: African management practices and western management practices in Africa. It turned out that the latter was almost non-existent. While examining a number of studies during writing up, new dimensions were

discovered as my findings and theorisations evolved and matured.

Consequently, different dimensions are emphasised in the arguments not intended by the articles' authors. These aspects influence the review.

2.3.1 Introduction to management and leadership knowledge

There are two different discussions among researchers, which are called here “Western and African frameworks” and “postcolonial framework”. Both discussions have the goal of developing a unique African management and leadership knowledge. Within the Western and African frameworks group some African researchers wish to create a synthesis of the Western and African knowledge systems. Some researchers tend to make use of the Western knowledge system as a framework to develop an African knowledge system (Beugré and Offodile, 2001, Zoogah, 2008, 2009). This is not without opposition. Other researchers are of the opinion that Ubuntu, the South African humanistic value system, can be transformed to represent a general African knowledge concept (Nwagbara, 2012). In other words, there are two opposing views: one that seeks to make use of the existing Western business system as a framework, and another that wants to explore the African humanistic knowledge system of Ubuntu and use this as a framework. Within the “postcolonial framework” the discussion extends beyond Africa. Authors illustrate how the Western knowledge system contains postcolonial bias and wish to create a postcolonial interrogative space in MOS (Management and Organisational Studies). The researchers want to promote alternative voices and develop an alternative knowledge system. Below, the different approaches are discussed.

2.3.2 Western framework and African frameworks

Beugré and Offodile (2001), who are African researchers, discuss the total management perspective of African companies. They suggest “a combination of the best of the two knowledge systems”, the African and the Western, or what they call a “culture-fit” model. The culture fit model implies a synthesis between “local cultures and modern management techniques” (Beugré and Offodile, 2001:543). The authors point to characteristics within indigenous African cultures and theorise opportunities for applying Western techniques like employee participation and empowerment to influence employee attitudes and behaviours. Kiggundi (1983) contributes a valuable review that is, nevertheless, relatively weak on African conditions. He mentions the research in India and Tanzania by Kanawaty and Thorsrud (1981), but fails to recognise or discuss the link they make between kinship and Western management theory. Kanawaty and Thorsrud (1981) examine the implementation of “democracy at work” in Tanzania and India. They test out their model in these two countries and find that it would work provided there were sufficient prior arrangements with the management of the test sites.

Nyambegera (2002) lives in Kenya and addresses ethnic diversity and sees its potential and not only the negative dimensions of tribalism. Rather, he is interested in the opportunity for diversity in organisations. It appears to be the same kind of diversity that has significant positive effects in Tanzania such as when communities absorb members beyond their families and create new social structures (Spalding, 1996). Nyambegera (2002) understands ‘ethnicity’ to mean ‘tribalism’, and thus questions when

the terms 'tribe' and 'tribalism' should be used in the social sciences (Ekeh, 1990, Mafeje, 1971). Mafeje suggests new terms and that 'ethnic group' should replace 'tribe' and 'ethnocentrism' should replace 'tribalism'. Mafeje argues from an ideological and critical viewpoint against the use of colonial terms such as tribe and tribalism, while Ekeh (1990) is more influenced by the fact that colonial terms have turned into descriptors used even by top African leaders and thus part of an African discourse. Ekeh (1990) claims that any change will represent a break in the research data as the new words will fail to capture the meaning of the original words (Ekeh, 1990).

However, not all expatriates think of 'tribe' as an innocent descriptor. Why do most pictures of 'tribe' or 'African' on the World Wide Web depict primitive beings? (Bing search engine (2015).

Only when searching specifically did images of Africans emerge though in Western clothing on Bing search engine, likewise same result on Google search engine, June 2015, repeated January 2016, (Bing and Google search engines (2015). The words 'tribe' and even 'African' as descriptors may not be as innocent as observers (naively) believe, and contain a hidden or subtle reference to someone presumed to be of lesser value and capacity, as implied in Orientalist theory.

Zoogah (2008) makes a comprehensive review of African management studies in the *Journal of African Business*. He proposes a perspective framework for future and contextualised research by African researchers (Zoogah, 2008:244, table 4). Zoogah's arguments seem strongly influenced by the Western knowledge system and he conceptualises a comparable African perspective. He proposes a

framework for advancing business research in Africa consisting of non-contextualised and contextualised research. Zoogah concludes that both non-contextualised and contextualised research is likely to produce or generate relevant and meaningful knowledge for African businesses as “the former focus on rigour and relevance while the latter on relevance and significance” (Zoogah, 2008:250). In his essay “Cultural Value Orientation”, Zoogah suggests that African managers should focus on the (Western) model of strategic leadership rather than traditional leadership, and involve their staff in achieving behavioural competencies for modern industrial societies (Zoogah, 2009). Zoogah develops a strategic model and within the conceptual framework of this model, he discusses the cultural value orientation and distinguishes the dimensions of traditionalism and modernism. Zoogah (2009) claims:

“Even though they [the Africans] have been influenced by Western culture, Africans do not necessarily abandon their traditional roots. Modernism, sometimes synonymous with Westernism (Edoho, 2001) is a cultural value that a strategic leader in modern Africa has to combine with traditionalism” (p. 208).

Zoogah’s argument is of great value to this thesis in which traditionalism and modernism are known as “Kinship” and “Contractual”; ‘kinship’ characteristics derive from traditional culture and ‘contractual’ from the Western management approach. Zoogah (2009) proposes a model of strategic leadership to assist the transition of African organisations to modern markets rather than applying traditional leadership models. His reference to “Africanity”, discussion of indigenous African culture and comparison with the modernist African proved to be of particular relevance

to this thesis. It is intriguing that Zoogah (2009) does not make any reference to Ubuntu, which has similarities to Ujamaa in Tanzania (see also Sigger et al., 2010). Sigger et al. (2010) view Ubuntu as a management concept and highlight its relevance to Tanzania. *Ujamaa* is a Kiswahili word and means literally “togetherness” and represents traditional Tanzanian society. This was based on the obligation to work and participate, sharing property and showing respect to each person and his or her role in society (Spalding, 1996). The political Ujamaa, introduced by the first president, Nyerere, in 1967, contradicted the above concept and appeared closer to the principles of communism.

The Ubuntu concept is a South African humanistic concept. It was used by President Mandela to reconcile the opposing political interests after the 1994 election in South Africa and then became widely known beyond South Africa (Oppenheim 2012). The literal translation of *Ubuntu* is “I am who I am through others”; the concept is relevant to the discussion on Dogbe (1980). (It should be noted that none of the interviewees in this study even mentioned or referred to Ubuntu as a management concept.) The concept builds upon local cultural values within the kinship system and has potential as a management concept in Tanzania (Sigger et al., 2010, Lutz, 2009, Prinsloo, 2000, Mangaliso, 2001). The philosophical system of Ubuntu is conceptualised as work behaviour, or as a discourse of work behaviour (Mangaliso, 2001:24, figure 1). It is not difficult to conceptualise Ubuntu provided its introduction is part of a process, such as the application of the strategic model by Zoogah (2009), or within a context, such as in the study by Mangaliso (2001).

Nwagbara (2012) criticises the transference of Western management models as they dominate indigenous models like Ubuntu. Consequently, his approach opposes the approach of Zoogah. Nwagbara, (2012) advocates the evolvement of Africa's indigenous management practices that are contained in the concept of Ubuntu. This idea further contributes to the discussions by Bolden and Kirk (2009), who view a Pan-African leadership initiative as a tool, a programme, not only to transfer knowledge, but also to evaluate and experience alternative conceptions of leadership. This may contribute to the "development of more culturally sensitive and personally relevant perspectives for themselves [program participants] and their communities" (Bolden and Kirk, 2009:71). These authors propose further work founded on humanistic and collectivist principles, and consideration of indigenous concepts such as Ubuntu in order to create "a more integrated sense of meaning and identity" (Bolden and Kirk, 2009:83).

Antweiler (1998), an anthropologist, warns that local knowledge should not be restricted to extraction of information or applied as counter model to Western science. Local knowledge does not represent a comprehensive knowledge system. Antweiler presents "methods to elicit, document and analyse local knowledge" as a process (Antweiler, 1998:479, table 5). The table presents various methods like listening and structuring interviews and their related topics. Antweiler's work inspired the construction of table 6.1.3, which identifies the Contractual and the Kinship discourse (see page 205). The above discussion is linked to the development of African management knowledge based upon the

framework of Western or African knowledge. That is, there is a debate about the value of directly importing Western knowledge systems, of combining them with local knowledge systems, or of building and relying only on local knowledge systems. The discussion below opens a space for interrogating the supreme position of Western knowledge and develops an alternative knowledge system within MOS (Management and Organisational Studies).

2.3.3 Colonial and Postcolonial framework

Said (1979) is commonly regarded as one of the most prominent thinkers on Postcolonialism in his book *Orientalism*. Postcolonial theory is a radical critique of colonialism and Orientalism (Williams and Chrisman 1994, Ahluwalia 2001). Orientalism was the ideological construct of Westerners that made sense of and justified imperialism's economic exploitation of colonised nations. In order to rule through their personnel and economic tools with the minimum of trouble (for the Westerners), the colonisers constructed an environment that was familiar to them (Ahluwalia, 2001, Said, 1979). The Western colonisers viewed black Africans as their 'Exotic Other' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005:2).

The Africans were positioned as without knowledge and ability to speak and the Western colonial powers were considered as superior, civilised, highly developed and with higher morals (Said 1979). This defended the colonisers' presence and the focus of their teaching vis-à-vis people they regarded as without knowledge and civilisation (Ahluwalia, 2001). The outcome is clear: Western knowledge within management

studies, known by various names such as IBMS (International Business and Management Studies), IMBS (International Management and Business Studies), ICMB ((International and Comparative Management and Business), IM (International Management) and MOS (Management and Organisational Studies) represents a superior knowledge system that takes precedence over the knowledge of others, which in the Orientalist discourse is regarded as non-existent. Postcolonial researchers oppose the view that African knowledge needs Western translation if it is to be applied. They want to create a postcolonial interrogative space in organisation studies, where alternative voices and the voices of the Other can be heard (Nkomo, 2011, Westwood, 2006, Jack and Westwood, 2006, 2007, Jack et al., 2011). That is, as this study explores, they consider how a unique African management discourse can be formed that allows Tanzanians to express themselves.

Nkomo (2011) presents a theoretical research review in her article “A postcolonial and anti-colonial reading of African leadership and management in organisations studies: tensions, contradictions and possibilities”. This article is a critical review of knowledge-for-understanding. Nkomo’s observations influence her writing, i.e. how the knowledge she acquired in her former workplace in the US is still relevant to her new South African working environment. This supports her aim as she questions: “what are the possibilities of re-writing African leadership and management in organisation studies?” (Nkomo, 2011:18). Nkomo wishes to create “an emancipatory discourse and practice of leadership

and management in Africa” (Nkomo, 2011:379). Nkomo seeks alternatives between colonised representations and their counter-representations.

Frenkel and Shenhav (2006) examine the supreme position of Western knowledge in management and organisations as a consequence of colonialism. They discuss a hybrid epistemology that “recognises that management and organisation should include a fusion between the coloniser and the colonised and their mutual effect on each other” (Frenkel and Shenhav, 2006:855). They argue that binary management grounded in binary epistemology serves to identify that “managers do not easily allow the promotion of ‘others’ into management positions in industrialised, so-called multicultural countries and in multinationals in developing countries” (Frenkel and Shenhav, 2006:871). This reasoning enables a seemingly rational evaluation of the ‘other’ as having inferior skills and thus to be remunerated accordingly with lower rewards. The authors claim that the subaltern voice may not represent an alternative truth, but rather encourages and represents diversity (Frenkel and Shenhav, 2006).

Westwood (2006) discusses IBMS (International Business and Management Studies) as an Orientalist discourse. He indicates that the discourse of IBMS deploys a similar discourse as found in Orientalism and wants to further discussion on this phenomenon. Westwood makes use of postcolonial theory to interrogate IBMS and reconfigures the research practice within IBMS. Westwood refers to Calas and Smircich (1999) to frame his discussion on ‘orientalist representational practices’, ‘sameness, homogenisation and universalising’, ‘silencing the other’, ‘the politics of knowledge’, ‘the location of the researcher and reflexivity’ and ‘business,

imperialism and globalisation'. Westwood develops further the ideas of Jack and Westwood (2006), who offer a re-configuration of ICMB (International and Comparative Management and Business) by subjecting the research to postcolonial critique. They discuss the Hierarchical System of Colonialist Binaries (Prasad, 1997, discussed by Jack and Westwood, 2006:490). This hierarchical system served as a useful tool in the present thesis to identify commensurable dimension, part of an analysis of binary dimensions. In 2007, Westwood and Jack called on scholars in IMBS (International Management and Business Studies) to make use of postcolonial theory to interrogate the ontological, epistemological, methodological and institutional resources that currently dominate the research field. Their aim was to create "spaces for more genuinely indigenous research – without requiring such work to be 'translated' through Western theory and knowledge systems" (Westwood and Jack, 2007:262).

Özkazanç-Pan (2008) discusses the implications of postcolonial studies, leading to examination and expansion of the studies of IM (International Management). She summarises the key theoretical concepts of Said, Spivak and Bhabha, and makes use of their theoretical approaches, Orientalism, gendered postcolonial subject and hybridity. She claims that "postcolonial scholars demonstrate that, by making claims on behalf of the native, Western management knowledge appropriates the native as unknowledgeable" (Banerjee, 2000, Banerjee and Linstead, 2004, Calàs, 1994, discussed by Özkazanç-Pan, 2008:965). Özkazanç-Pan discusses whether she as a "Third World" scholar writing in English in a

“First World” business school could represent the subaltern. She has no definitive answer, but claims that this question “sustains an ongoing conversation within International Management about the interconnection between research, researcher and ‘the rest of the world’” (Özkazanç-Pan, 2008:966). Her question leads to discussion of Spivak, who was interviewed about her article “Subaltern speaking” by Landry and Maclean (1996). Spivak claims that the suppressed subjects, the subalterns, could not express their knowledge in their own language constructs (Landry and Maclean interviewing Spivak 1996). Neither their knowledge, nor their language constructs were recognised within the Orientalist construct. Bhabha focused on the hybrid position, the psychological transitional position influenced by both the expatriates’ home social world and the local social world (Bhabha 1994).

Race is embedded in the Orientalist theory or colonial discourse. Westerners define “Others” by their skin colour, seeing it as indicative of persons of lesser qualities than themselves (Said, 1979). Appiah discusses how Hippocrates, in the fifth century B.C., in Greece, argued that the superiority of Greeks was due to their environment, which had made them tougher and more independent. However, this advantage could change (be lost) if the Greeks moved to new conditions and implicitly the lesser (disadvantage) could also change, i.e. be gained, if they moved to the same environment as the Greeks. Hence, although physical differences like hair and skin colour were used to distinguish between people, these characteristics did not explain or give rise to difference in behaviour and capabilities (Appiah, 1992). Greeks even admitted that they had “acquired

a good deal in their culture from the darker-skinned people of Egypt” (Appiah, 1992:11). The latter is important as Westerners or white people deny that they have acquired knowledge from the “Other” (Frenkel and Shenhav, 2006). Appiah (1992) insists that

“... the Greek conception of cultural and historical differences between peoples was essentially environmental ...” (p. 12).

The story of Apartheid and Afrikaners is not recent. According to the BBC:

“Back in the 1850's, the missionary and traveller David Livingstone , noticed the Afrikaner obsession with race.

"The great objection many of the Boers had and still have to English law [from 1685] is that it makes no distinction between black men and white. They felt aggrieved by their supposed losses in the emancipation for their Hottentot slaves, and determined to erect themselves into a republic, in which they might pursue without molestation, the 'proper treatment of the blacks.'

It is almost needless to add that the 'proper treatment' has always contained in it the essential element of slavery, namely, compulsory unpaid labour..." (Livingstone 1857).

Obviously, one might be allowed to reason that this attitude was grounded in the discourse of Apartheid, as well as supported the construction of Orientalism. It appears to satisfy Appiah’s claim of “cognitive incapacity”, that it is individual character and not skin colour which determines a person’s worth (Appiah, 1992:14). In this study, it is argued that some representatives of modern socio-economic society may retain these historical values. UNESCO (The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) denounced racial theories in 1950 (UNESCO 1950). But how Europeans construct their stories may still be shaped by Orientalist attitudes.

Jack et al (2008) wish to rewrite the field of MOS (Management and Organisational Studies) and bring in the voices of others. They discuss what is known and point to authors like Frenkel and Özkazanç-Pan, who may change academic discussion and allow a critical theorising of IM. This includes understanding of how much “of the world has effectively been left out in the claims of international knowledge” (Jack et al 2008:880).

Postcolonial interrogative space is claimed to have emerged in MOS (Jack et al 2011). The authors reconsider what is known in the literature with the aim both to broaden and deepen the interrogational space and present an articulated approach.

2.3.4 Behaviour corrections among Europeans

For a long time, Europeans have been encouraged to correct their behaviour and remove the bias of Orientalism. In the media the terms ‘black’ or ‘people of colour’ have replaced ‘Negro’. In ordinary discourse negro is considered racist in particular when used for consumer brand names – for example, ‘Black Boy’ has been replaced – , but these alternatives are not always immune from criticism. As regards children’s books and toys, inappropriate names have been purged. The example of Astrid Lindgren’s “Pippi Long Stocking” is typical. That said, the consumers, in this case children’s parents, may resist change. The following, printed in a Norwegian newspaper in September 2014, illustrates the problem of eliminating Orientalist attitudes.

Figure 2.3.4– Curtain print in Swedish. The translation reads: “Criticism of Pippi-curtain: It is black children who are slaves” (Aftenposten, 9.09.2014)



This picture was printed on curtains intended for a child’s bedroom. The two black girls are considered by critics to represent slaves fanning and attending to the little white girl. The depiction of a white king is of course also unacceptable for critics and Africans alike – only a black man could be an African (see below).

The negative media exposure made the company responsible for manufacturing the curtains withdraw the product from the market. This created a problem for the company as the parents buying the curtains wanted to keep their childhood images, thus leading to conflict between economic and ethical interests. Also, this underlines how important the purge actually is as a guideline for behaviour (Langset, 2014).

The next subsection discusses in broad terms local, African contextual factors with a particular focus on Tanzania.

2.3.5 Kinship, family, tribe, culture and Ujamaa

The local context topics, i.e. kinship, family, tribe, culture and Ujamaa, represent interconnected topics. Kinship and extended family are terms which influence the other constructs as they are at the core of most African cultural concepts. *Ujamaa* is an old Kiswahili word and a concept that was misused politically, due to a possible or wilful misunderstanding by Tanzania’s first president, Nyerere, to argue for Western socialist theory

(Ibhawoh and Dibua, 2003, Hyden, 1980, Spalding, 1996). Some South African researchers relate the socialist practice of Ujamaa to Ubuntu, and reason that the traditional kinship construct of the former applies to the latter. Their claims are not convincing because of the political misuse of the traditional Ujamaa concept by President Nyerere in Tanzania (Sigger et al, 2010). It seems that President Nyerere created a Ujamaa discourse that is now regarded negatively by Tanzanians, as evident in the stories told by the interviewees, who describe it as “the years of socialism”. It was nicknamed “Kulak Ujamaa” by people subjected to the political villagization programme of Ujamaa (Ibhawoh and Dibua, 2003). This is the local Swahili expression for “Gulag Ujamaa”, referring to the Soviet gulags. However, the importance of the sharp break in Tanzanian history and culture caused by Nyerere’s rule should not be underestimated.

Some authors discuss the traditions and social structures and even indicate their current significance in Tanzania (Spalding, 1996, Ibhawoh and Dibua, 2003). Dogbe (1980), although focusing on Ghana, discusses community and “Community Support Systems” and reveals the concepts contained in the kinship construct and their origin. Similar concepts are discussed by Zoogah (2009) when he constructs his strategic model as a tool to synthesise Western and African knowledge systems. It is worthwhile examining in more detail Dogbe’s (1980) work as it sheds light on the kinship construct. Dogbe explores the community concept and the thinking of Africans. The community concept in Africa is based upon a non-evangelised religion. It is a social construction of social psychic power rather than socio-economy. It is a theocentric culture with good will at its

centre symbolising care. The individual has a central role as the nucleus and is responsible for good will and harmony. Life is composed of mutually interdependent parts evolving around the concept of co-operation, much like the traditional concept of Ujamaa in Tanzania. From childhood children are taught sharing. The concept of “Weism” introduced by Dogbe represents a “we-centred” philosophy focused on the following belief: “I am, because we are, and since we are, I am” (Dogbe, 1980:797). Weism reasoning is a central part of the education provided by the adults in the village. The family assimilates into the extended family, which in turn assimilates into the care and attention of the whole village. The adults are responsible for the education and upbringing of the children, who they regard as belonging to the extended family and the village, and not only their parents and the nuclear family. The African festivals, sometimes quite large events, have a similar function “as a tool of cultural reconstruction and transmission of knowledge to the younger generation” (Owusu-Frempong, 2005:730). It is reasonable to assume that the transmission of knowledge in an oral culture leads to both loss and acquisition of knowledge. Dogbe’s (1980) claim that the transmission is influenced by the past, the present and the future supports this interpretation.

Owusu-Frempong (2005) discusses the importance and functions of African festivals. They are the means by which to gather the community and represent African culture and the social environment. The festivals fulfil a role: “as cultural reconstruction and transmission of knowledge to the younger generation” (Owusu-Frempong, 2005:730). It is a reconstruction of guiding beliefs as discussed by Dogbe (1980) and serves as a renewal of

community life, presented by artists in the form of music, drama and oral communication (Owusu-Frempong, 1980).

Aldous (1964) counters the hypothesis that the kinship ties in West Africa tend to disappear when urbanisation takes place; rather, they continue to exist. The extended family still constitutes a cultural shelter for its urban members. Alber and Martin (2010) conducted three case studies in West-Africa. They concluded that the overriding importance of the kinship relations remains despite changes in economic, political and social areas. The influence on norms and practices regarding kin relationships is changing. The case studies are all concerned with “who belongs to whom, and in what way, and what this form of belonging means in material terms in people’s everyday lives” (Alber and Martin 2010:64). These questions influence, for example, sharing between people who are connected by the bonds of kinship. The researchers’ conclusion is that they “can see the long-term constants of kinship organisation that make up the web of kinship in African societies” (Alber and Martin 2010:64).

Modernisation in Tanzania is evident in the growing sense of democracy among the rural population and it may have organisational influence (Snyder, 2008). The question is how this typical Western practice may change communities. The answer requires in-depth knowledge of the kinship concepts. The desire to determine one’s own fate is part of human nature, but we may seek to do this from different perspectives. In the West, it is based on the individualistic approach, and among Africans the focus is on collective or “we” perspective (Dogbe, 1980). The Igbo society in south Eastern Nigeria was viewed traditionally as democratic with low influence

exercised by its chiefs (Harneit-Sievers, 1998). This is very relevant to Tanzanian traditional society where the chiefs had an informal leadership role (Spalding, 1996). However, it is in contrast to the rather strong view that the African manager is autocratic (Kiggundi, 1988, cited in Beugré and Offodile, 2001). Beugré and Offodile (2001) argue that consensus was built on long discussions and negotiations and the aim of the decision makers was to reconcile with their opponents.

African history, and its knowledge, is stored in the memory of the 'Elders' and expressed orally as this subsection discusses. In the past kinship defined the relationships between families and members organised informally in a village community (Spalding, 1996). The village used to consist, in part, of nomads searching for a place to settle or about to move on. These people when staying for a prolonged period were incorporated into the extended family construct and became part of the village system (Spalding, 1996). In modern times there is less land available, and it is assumed that this restricts the nomadic lifestyle and supports more lasting community structures (Spalding, 1996). The bonding in the extended family is of course different in character from that within an individualistic construct.

The figure below, figure 2.3.5 page 38, is based on the researcher's own interpretation, which arises from a mix of European and African experience. and by applying Baudrillard (Rhodes, 2000:515). The weakness of the depicted construct, is that it is not researched among other expatriates and perhaps Africans. This is a theoretical construct that

is based on literature and the research text (Hyden, 1980, Nyambegera, 2001, Spalding, 2006, UNDP, 2007, the interview text, 2013). Importantly, the words have a conceptual meaning beyond the words themselves and create experiential meaning for the white expatriate, who has experience of living in Africa, as well as for Africans. Experience, knowledge and reflectiveness will vary and so will the outcomes. The image of “tribalism” is from the Web and originates from an unknown Kenyan newspaper following the presidential election (Google search engine 2015).

Figure 2.3.5 on page 38 is constructed somewhat differently than would perhaps be expected, with kinship at the bottom, illustrating how all the forces of tribe, tribalism and the extended family come together as the (feared) forces of tribalism and tribe. They illustrate the tightly knitted bond between members of the tribe, in which “the individual derives his/her identity from being a member of a family, a clan and a community, whose norms and values take precedence over those of an individual (Nyambegera 2002:1081). The extended family is significantly more complex as it contains not only kin, but also social relations and a mix of tribes (Spalding 1996, Awedoba 2007). This definition of the extended family, the traditional social construct, was present in Tanzania during the colonial period and was nearly destroyed as a result of Ujamaa. However, it still appears to exist (Ibhawoh and Dibua 2003, interview text, 2013).

Figure 2.3.5 Concepts linked to the kinship constructs



The forces of tribe and tribalism deserve closer attention as they represent, on the one hand, negative forces and, on the other hand, bonds of loyalty between members. The forces may be considered as important from a strategic point of view and if controlled represent competitive advantage for an organisation. The forces may be strengthened if there is a mix of tribes as mentioned above, which is in line with the thinking of the Kenyan scholar Nyambegera (2002). It is relevant to note that Kenya is a tribal society as indicated by the newspaper reference above.

Nyambegera argues that ethnicity can be managed through mixing ethnic groups and focusing upon qualifications (Nyambegera 2002). His use of the word ethnicity in place of tribalism and ethnic group in place of tribe does, as already mentioned, achieve subtler contextual understanding in line with the reasoning of Mafeje, as the terms lose their original social

meaning (Mafeje 1980). Nyambegera's terms lack some of the traditional meaning, which makes them more adaptable. He sees the positive forces of bonding and internalising decisions in tribalism that are vital elements in implementation of management practices (Barney 2005, Mintzberg et al. 1995). However, to apply these forces in a tribal framework will require a conscious approach and transparency, the strong enemy of unrecognised behaviour.

2.3.6 African oral tradition, intergenerational communication and knowledge

The African traditional form of communication is oral (Scheub 1985).

Scheub (1985) discusses the African oral tradition as unbroken. He claims that

“... the oral tradition distils the essence of human experiences, shaping them into rememberable, readily retrievable images of broad applicability with an extraordinary potential for eliciting emotional responses” (p. 1).

Scheub (1985) discusses comprehensively African oral tradition and presents a clear picture of how knowledge is conveyed from generation to generation: “But the Hausas have always had a thriving unwritten indigenous literature, much of which is also in verse” (p. 27) (Hausas are a large tribe in Northern Nigeria and represent around 29 per cent of the population, i.e. 50 million people (AnswersAfrica 2015)).

Omolewa (2007) explores the indigenous learning strategies of African education and emphasises the informal and vocational training which aims at excellence and quality (Omolewa, 2007). The system is

holistic and storytelling and myths play an important role. Within this traditional system, “each person in the community is practically trained and prepared for his/her role in society” (Omolewa, 2007:593). Owusu-Frempong (2005) discusses how the traditional festivals are more than mere entertainment; they serve as a “medium for cultural education and intergenerational communication” (p. 730). The question of local education is considered in the knowledge transfer discussion.

The LOITSA (Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa) programme started in June 2002, and was funded by NUFU (the Norwegian University Fund) (Brock-Utne et al., 2010). The first part of the project investigated the current language policies and their implementation in Tanzania and South Africa. The second part, owing to permission issues involving the Tanzanian authorities, conducted smaller experiments with research clearance from the University of Dar es Salaam which took part in the research. Professor Birgit Brock-Utne headed the project. The research outcomes are presented as papers of the LOITSA workshops (Brock-Utne et al., 2010). Descriptions of inadequately educated teachers, language mix in education and inferior learning are the essence of the findings which also relate to university level. This is confirmed by Maliyamkono and Mason in their book, *The Promise*, published in 2006. The solution is more complex than changing the language of instruction, in secondary school and upwards, from English to Kiswahili, as there is a lack of investment in education. Moreover, Kiswahili is the mother tongue for about 10 per cent of the Tanzanian population only (Brock-Utne et al., 2010, Petzell, 2012). Kiswahili is the correct name and Swahili is usually used in speaking terms.

Kiswahili is the national language. Pupils speaking Kiswahili are introduced to English as from secondary school and taught only in English. Their learning of the new language is often not satisfactory (Brock-Utne 2010), so many Tanzanians are barred from secondary and higher education because the language of instruction on these levels are English (Mulokozi, 2002). This has created serious challenges and Mulokozi claims “that even educated Tanzanians are more comfortable speaking Kiswahili than English” (Mulokozi (2002:5). He claims that students of Dar es Salaam University make use of Kiswahili when conducting their social and political activities. However, while working on this current study, on 5 March 2015, Kiswahili was declared the language of instruction in Tanzania, (Quartz, 2015).

The long process to achieving this change in policy seems to have succeeded but new arguments against the decision are emerging, for example, the lesser focus on English may reduce people’s ability to relate to other societies and international trade. Another question raised concerns what will happen to English usage in organisations when the whole of society converses in Kiswahili. How will the communication among multicultural groups be affected and how will they function together? The obvious solution is to require Kiswahili knowledge among managers. However, the communication among multicultural managers needs more than language capabilities as Rosinski (2003) discusses.

2.4 Western and Eastern management literature

The iterative analytic process of this literature review disclosed the need to draw in other Western and Eastern management literature. Key literature is discussed below. Eastern (Japanese and Chinese) literature seems particular useful as it focuses on a Human Relation management approach in particular and as such may be closer to the African reasoning (Samovar and Porter 1997, Harneit-Sievers 1998, Spalding 1996). The discussions open with a focus on cultural dimensions.

2.4.1 Cross- and multicultural relations

Rosinski raises the possibility of intercultural communication in multicultural environments. Rosinski (2003) promotes respectfulness in relations and recognising each other's capacities to enable understanding and exploration of mutual capabilities. Beech et al. (2010) note how difficult it is even between academics and organisational members to discuss topics without positioning the other as of lower status. The academics despite their qualifications in philosophy and reflective ability appeared not able to communicate on equal terms with their participating group members. Beech et al. (2010) suggest that non-hierarchical organisations may create equality. However, in this study, management group members are influenced by deeply embedded discourses without their awareness. Very few have the level of education and practice of researchers, but, as Beech et al. (2010) argue, such education does not solve the issue of equality. Thus, the organisational context is likely to require more than the removal of hierarchical structures to facilitate the communication necessary.

Li and Umemoto (2013) discuss how multicultural group work can function in an autonomous working context. The aim is to “construct a theoretical model of knowledge creation through intercultural communication in multi-cultural group work” (p. 230). The outcome is a model that reveals the work process as “a spiral of four phases of knowledge: articulation, socialisation, consolidation and internalisation” (Li and Umemoto, 2013:229). The researchers remark that it is not possible to start from the point of socialisation “because people have different cultural backgrounds and at first they may not have a common awareness that enables them to socialise” (Li and Umemoto, 2013:232). Socialisation appears to improve when it takes place as face-to-face communication within informal organisations.

Li and Umemoto (2013) also discuss learning in autonomous working groups. It takes place between students of different cultural origin. Learning occurs in autonomous working groups, which implies that the learners take responsibility for their learning (Holec, 1981, referred by Li and Umemoto, 2013). The process of learning in multicultural groups that Li and Umemoto (2013) discuss is very similar to the position in a multicultural management group. This group consists of the managers who together make vital decisions on behalf of the company and specific decisions in their areas of responsibility. The character of the work in management groups consequently appears to be close to that in an autonomous working group

This leads to the question of what differences multiculturalism may bring. The next two sections focus on Western and African identity perceptions, that introduce some insights that may inform answers to this question.

2.4.2 Western identity perceptions: working and reflecting on the self.

From a Western perspective, managers rarely experience themselves simply as private persons. Managers are instead encountered and perceived by self and others as representatives or symbols of the company. As such, they are seen primarily as company representatives wherever they appear in their social environment. (Watson 2008). In their management role they must appear authoritative and knowledgeable and as Watson express; “above all, ‘in control’ (Watson 2008:122). In order to create and maintain their interpersonal relationships - prerequisites for their successful job performance - they need to appear as “credible human individuals” (Watson, 2008:122). Managers need to understand themselves both as ‘managers at work’ and as ‘private persons’ and Watson argues that this is just part of the ‘identity’ every manager, like every other human being has to work on constantly. People want to come to terms with how the various social identities that pertain to them in their environment. The two identities, the self-identity and the social identity described above represent the human identity and is “simply the notion of who or what a particular person is, in relation to others” (Watson 2007 in Pullen et al 2007:136)

Watson introduces a three step model to illustrate “the relationship between managerial and other discourses and self-identities (2008:128). He suggests the model can be used “to understand the discursive aspects of social life and people’s involvement in identity creation” (Watson 2008:128). The recognition of “*social-identities* as focal elements within discourses to which people make reference in their identity work” are equivalent to ‘role models’ in Bandura’s social learning theory (Bandura (1977) referred by Watson 2008:128). To be a role model sets requirements on good management practice and all that this may imply.

Huxham and Beech (2003) make use of ‘tension’ to present their notion of ‘good management practice’. Their notion of tension is concerned with the choice between alternative forms of management practice and it is not related to stress and interpersonal conflicts. Their usage of the term is independently developed and differs from all other uses they have come across and cannot be related to other ‘tension’ literature. The authors present the tensions as a simple two-way choice although they “do not intend to imply that the world can be fully represented in this way” (Huxham and Beech 2003:74). Managers’ ‘tension’ construction is used as a thinking technique (Huxham and Beech 2003).

Huxham and Beech conceptualise their ‘tension’ concept beyond collaboration and include how it may “usefully inform managers about the kinds of considerations they might take account of in both their day to day and longer term management thinking” (Huxham and Beech 2003:73). They add; “framing theory this way would necessarily imply a view of the user as *reflective practitioner*” (Shon 1983) and the theory as a means of

providing useful conceptual handles for reflection of their own practice” (Huxham and Beech 2003:73).

The authors claim that their theory of tension deconstructs practice in a reflective way and through that avoids ‘the total closure of meaning’ as “it does not presume a ‘right way’ in which benefits outweighs the cost” (Lewis 2000 cited by Huxham and Beech 2003:87). “The tension conceptualisation aims to facilitate managers to make choices” acknowledging that “reality is not simply and factually presented in the tension” (Huxham and Beech 2003:87). Realities nature is dynamic and acting on the basis of one choice may result in another situation that represents another tension. In this way the theory of tension can be viewed as “founded on an epistemology which resist unitarist representation in favour of a multiple reading of a situation (Huxham and Beech 2003:87). This way it is linked to practice and an oversimplification. It provides ‘handles’ to decide in complex situations. ‘Good management practice’ are re-interpreted by Huxham and Beech (2003:88) to mean “being able to recognize and work with good practice tensions rather than solving them”. The theory may assist the ‘theory-user’ to suspend while reflecting the complexity of the moment. This may offer time to reflect before they jump back into the complex reality of the real world (Huxham and Beech 2003).

2.4.3 African identity perceptions

Fanon’s “*Black Skin, White Masks*” (1986) seems to support the identity discussion by Watson (2008). Fanon introduced Williams and Chrisman’s three phases that a native author faces (Williams and Chrisman, 1993:40).

In the first phase, he assimilates the culture of the occupying power or dominant power and he links himself to its environment. In the second phase, he becomes disturbed, as he has established an external relation with his own people, but he wants to recall their lives only. In the third phase, which Fanon calls the fighting phase, he turns himself into an agent to awaken people and oppose the dominant or occupying culture. The same force may be perceived when the Tanzanians seek recognition like demanding to be heard and to be respected and eventually criticise the expatriates' knowledge (Fanon, 1986). These aspects may, for African managers, add to the complexity of their identity work discussed above.

2.4.4 Organisational communication

The communication within the management group is assumed to take place between responsible adults in high positions. This process leads to another aspect that is discussed by Habermas in his communicative theories (Johnsen and Duberley, 2000). Habermas claimed that "any communication rests upon the assumption that the speakers can justify their tacit validity claim through recourse to argument and discourse" (Johnsen and Duberley, 2000:121). However, 'systematically distorted communication' may take place preventing rational argumentation and "produce a pretence of consensus" (Habermas, cited by Johnsen and Duberley, 2000:121). This perhaps also links to Fanon's arguments, outlined above, in that it emphasises that communication is interpreted by the listener, and their interpretations will change according to the perspective they hold. Organizational communication is not therefore one

of direct links between what managers, for example, say and other managers hear, but how each party interprets what is said and what is heard.

2.5 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

2.5.1 Discussions

To the best of my knowledge, the present study is unique, although the literature review did identify relevant and supportive research. A key finding is the richness of African culture and its potential to inspire management thinking. It is useful to correct the Orientalist influences which I over the years have been subjected to in the business environment of Western companies in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The literature review found promotion of contextual and indigenous African research and new voices in the discussions, particularly by Nkomo, (2011), Westwood and Jack (2006) and Zoogah (2009). The use of postcolonial theory provides a very useful lens to understand what is taking place in Western oriented organisations together with discourse analysis and binary analysis. There is as mentioned by Zoogah and Nkomo, need for more anthropological research and research covering “leadership as manifested in chieftaincies and kingdoms” (Zoogah and Nkomo, discussed by Lituchy et al., 2013:20). This is of particular interest since the ceremonies around the stool also settle disputes and other administrative village matters (conversations with a Ghanaian king, June 2012). As an outsider, I see this as representative of a forum that is not so different from a ‘parliamentary’ or democratic setting. The reality can probably only be

revealed by anthropological research. What is most lacking from the literature is research on the kinship system from an organisational perspective, combining the views of anthropologist and organisational practitioner. It seems that organisational values and knowledge within kinship constructs are not receiving the attention they deserve as such research is often hindered by tribal dynamics and bias; this could equally apply for an African who does not belong to a particular tribe. Nyambegera (2002) partly discusses this issue; his Kenyan background as a member of a strong tribal society without doubt benefits his research.

It is evident that African oriented studies are on the increase, which is noticeable when researching this thesis. New books are being published, some of which are quite extensive and expensive. They tend to be general as even Zoogah (2001) admits about his book *The psychology of management in African organisations*. In *Managing organisational behaviour in the African context* – written with Beugré – the same generalisations appear (Nyambegera and Zoogah, 2013). The earlier article published by Beugré and Offodile (2001) appears in contrast to be more context oriented and less general in character.

Postcolonial writing provides a particularly useful perspective on organisational management as it addresses the reason why African knowledge is silenced. The Western organisational practitioners view Others' knowledge as non-existent. Zoogah (2001) rightly claims that technology transfer is the focus in African business organisations, and not human relation aspects. On the basis of strategic leadership in Africa, he discusses cultural value orientation, self-concept and cognitive complexity

(Zoogah, 2009). It is human capacity that is challenged when considering a transition between Western knowledge and African knowledge.

Unfortunately, the observation by Appiah regarding racial issues, the persistent Orientalist viewpoints which may be referred to as cognitive incapacity, may be all too true (Appiah, 1992). Appiah discusses how people in general, even if they know that racial subjugation has no support in the research, they still adopt racial behaviour. He defines cognitive incapacity as “an inability to change your mind in the face of evidence” (Appiah, 1992:14).

The West suppressed and did not refer to African knowledge even when making use of it (Frenkel and Shenhav, 2006). Discussion assumes that Elton Mayo developed Human Relation theories in the 1920s on the basis of his stays in the colonies. The experience from the gold mines of Ghana is specifically mentioned. It may be therefore that African theories penetrated into Western theories of organizations via Mayo’s influence, but it is not possible to prove this.

Communication in any situation is complex, and in cross- and multicultural environments is multiply-complex.

2.5.2 Conclusions

This review examines research theorising the application of Western knowledge in African organisations. It points towards the emergence of a unique African management and leadership knowledge system. The “Western and African framework” considers the synthesis of Western and African knowledge systems; the Western system as a framework opposed

by the view that the African humanistic concept of Ubuntu should constitute the framework. The second main discussion, “Postcolonial framework”, focuses on postcolonialism to create an interrogative space to develop an African knowledge system. The latter discussion expands beyond the African context, but is limited to Africa in this review. This suggests the presence of three knowledge systems: Western, African and a synthesis of the two. It is not known how managers are influenced by the synthesis not only of these knowledge systems but also their own personal biographies and histories (Watson, 2008). What tensions do they face as they work within what may be competing systems of thought, and how do they become reflective managers when the influences upon them are so complex and perhaps incommensurable (Huxham and Beech, 2003)?

Research Questions

The aims of this thesis are (1) to explore the perceptions of themselves and other groups held by senior managers drawn from the different social groups involved in senior management in Western-owned or managed companies in Tanzania, and (2) to identify the discourses that drive these perceptions, and to establish the commensurabilities and incommensurabilities between these discourses. The literature review leads to the following research questions that, if answered, will achieve the study’s aims.

- a. What evidence is there of a Western framework informing the ways in which senior managers in these companies speak about themselves and others?

- b. What evidence is there of an African framework in informing the ways in which senior managers in these companies speak about themselves and others?
- c. What are the Western discourses that inform these ways of speaking?
- d. What are the African discourses that inform these ways of speaking?
- e. What evidence is there of any synthesis of these contrasting discourses in the ways in which these managers speak?
- f. What are the implications for managerial practices in these and similar companies?

The next chapter examines my epistemological and methodological approach to finding an answer to the research question firmly embedded in Western thinking tradition.

3.0 METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the reasoning behind the choice of research approach and the methods used to find answers to the research questions that concern ways in which Western and African frameworks informing the ways in which top managers in Tanzanian Western influenced organisations speak, the evidence of African and Western discourses influencing these frameworks, and any synthesis of these discourses.

This chapter also discusses the analytic approach adopted to analyse the data and some examples are used for illustration. After discussing various approaches the choice of analytic approach will be made made.

The previous chapter reviewed articles considered useful and relevant for this research. The articles are on various topics and found in different journals. Specific search words were of limited use. Only the iterative process of repeated searches for articles, and searching for their references produced the most relevant outcomes. The outcome suggests that the field research carried out for this thesis is unique. Generalisations from and about Sub Saharan Africa are frequent, with moderate recognition of the differences between individual African countries.

The findings and the analysis of the findings are divided into three chapters: 1) 4.0 Analysis One – Managerial Perceptions, 2) 5.0 – Analysis Two – Organisational Discourses and 3) 6.0 Analysis Three – Managerial Discourses in an Organisational Context. Chapter 6 builds on the findings

and analysis in chapters four and five. The chapters are titled this way to reflect the contributions they each make to the overall analysis conducted.

3.1.1 Context of the research

The contemporary strategy assumption is that the success of any organisation is dependent not only on the organisation's tangible (financial or physical) or intangible (technology, reputation, culture) resources, but also on human factors such as skills/know how, capacity for communication and collaboration and motivation, which represent the organisational capabilities within the organisation (Grant, 2005). In this thesis, the socially constructive activity of human beings is assumed to have a significant impact on the phenomena investigated. As Albrow (1997) puts it: “as we act, and give accounts of our action, we are creating society and ourselves” (Albrow, 1997, p47, quoted in Rhodes, 2000:514).

In business organisations the senior management group is known by various names such as “top leader group”, the “executive group” or simply “the management group”; the latter is used in this thesis. This group makes all the strategic decisions within the organisation and represents the key driver of business outcomes. The social context is not only multicultural within the environment in which the group operates, but also within the group itself. In Tanzania, the group usually consists of representatives from a diverse range of countries and ethnicities. Investigating attitudes and behaviours in such social groups may lead to new understanding about businesses in Sub Saharan Africa.

3.2 WHAT APPROACH?

Creswell (2013) defines the qualitative approach. It “begins with assumptions and the use of interpretive/theoretical frameworks that inform the study of research problems addressing the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem” (Creswell 2013:44). The research question implies a constructionist and interpretive epistemological framework within the social construction approach, in which individuals seek subjective meaning of their lived life (Creswell, 2013:4, Crotty, 1998:42). People are consciously or unconsciously influenced by their own and others discourses and the societal discourses that may or may not be known to all and that may impact people differently depending upon their experience and interpretations of the discourses. From this perspective, there is no objective world waiting to be discovered. Instead, meaning is constructed through the individuals’ interaction with others (Creswell, 2013, Crotty, 1998). Objects are also attributed meaning by individuals, i.e. the individual imposes meaning. The object makes no contribution to the meaning. “Constructionist meaning is constructed out of something (the object), whereas in subjectivism meaning is created out of nothing”, i.e. meaning comes from somewhere else, but is in this way not an interaction between the object and the subject (Crotty, 1998:9). Through the intervention of the researcher, meaning is co-constructed between the researcher and the subject shaped by the individual experience of both actors (Creswell, 2013). This framework implies that it is individual interpretations of the world which should be the focus of research, because individuals are seeking to make sense of the world as they share their

individual perspectives. The world is already there, but how people make sense of that world and give it meaning is the focus of research (Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty in Crotty, 1998:44)

The deductive process is represented by the positivistic approach that contrasts with the qualitative approach and means in principle that within a positivist methodology the researcher collects data as impartially as possible and then determines the answers. There is a reality out there, and the researcher's role is to reveal it. To do so, the researcher should apply a methodology which presumes objectivity thereby avoiding human contamination of the data (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). Deductive research represents "an approach to the relationship between theory and research in which the latter is conducted with reference to hypotheses and ideas inferred from the former" (Bryman, 2008:693). That is, the approach is usually based upon a hypothesis that is to be confirmed or refuted. Even in quantitative approaches, a qualitative interview process is frequently applied in advance to ensure that the questionnaire addresses the realities queried, or the questionnaire may have been pre-tested in another similar research undertaking. On the basis of quantitative data one can deduct an outcome. Quantitative approach is the traditional scientific approach (Creswell, 2013, Bryman, 2008).

Qualitative research is inductive signifying that there is a "relationship between theory and research in which the former is generated out of the latter" (Bryman, 2008:694) and as defined above. The qualitative approach is usually represented by an interaction in the field between the researcher and the researched, directed by the researcher or by using

other researchers' data (Bryman, 2008). "The outcome or the representation includes the voices of participants, the reflexivity of the researcher, a complex description and interpretation of the problem, and its contribution to the literature or call for a change" (Creswell, 2013:44). The researcher is not distanced to the data. He or she will apply a methodological approach, which seeks to secure trustworthy and reliable data that may form the basis for a later study using a quantitative hypothesis testing (Creswell, 2013).

3.2.1 Evaluation of approaches

Before starting this research, a grounded theory approach was tested in Ghana. This early research was found useful, representing a firm, structured approach close to the thinking of an organisational practitioner. The pilot study was conducted in a country in which the researcher's work offered access to similar people to those that were interviewed for the main study. The pilot study was conducted partly to test the data gathering technique and partly to see what useful data could be obtained from such discussions and interviews and what they might lead to. It contributed to this study by offering knowledge of the Ghanaian chieftaincy structures, the extended family and the Elders position at the work place. Findings by Alber and Martin (2010) indicate that such data are generally relevant in Sub Saharan Africa. The relevance of the chieftaincy structure, the Elders and extended family is that it elucidates how African organisations function. In addition, it represents data that Nkomo and Zoogah wanted in order to achieve insight in African organisational structures (Lituchy et al., 2013:20).

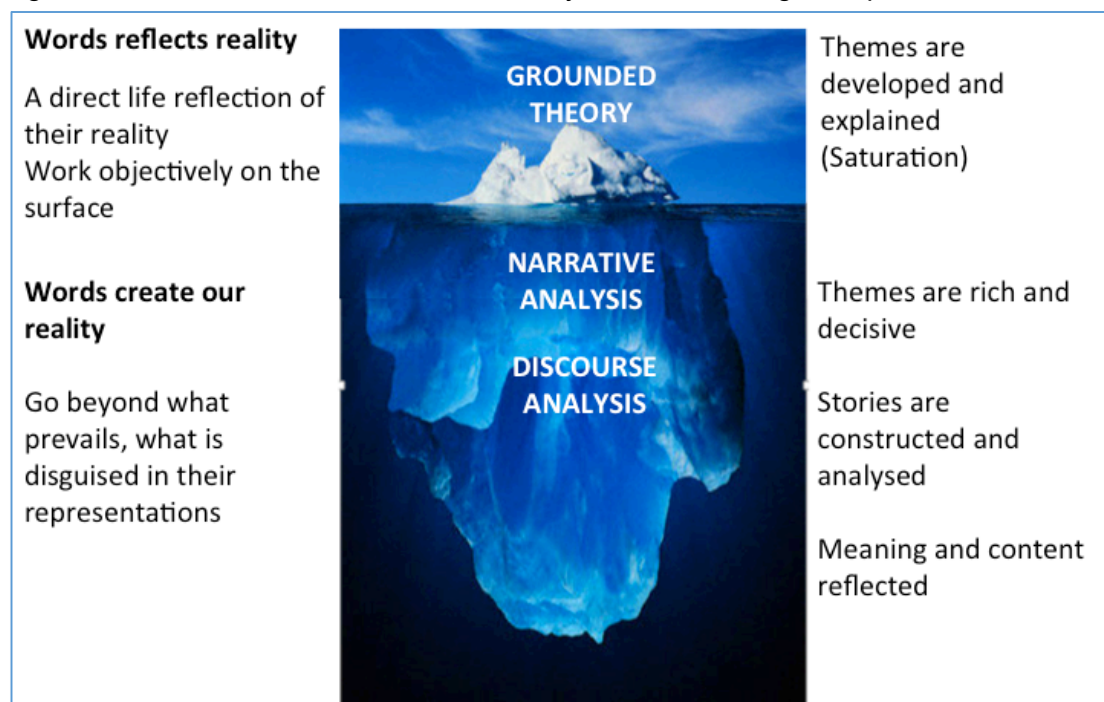
The Grounded theory approach offers an opportunity to adopt a quantitative, positivistic approach such as conducting a survey and testing the outcomes (Charmaz, 2006, Bryant and Charmaz, 2007, Strauss and Corbin, 1990). However, grounded theory is post positivist and represents an enquiry of logically related steps and multiple perspectives, rather than a single reality. Data collection and analysis follow rigorous qualitative methods, but based on modes of quantitative approach, which encourages focus on validity and the outcomes are formed as scientific reports (Creswell, 2013). It may represent a crossover between a quantitative and a qualitative approach. The pilot study showed that grounded theory offered a multileveled analysis, but did not seem to disclose what might be behind the reasoning of the interview subjects. The concepts in the grounded theory approach appeared to represent too narrow representations of the interviewees' thinking. The data did not appear sufficiently rich to identify the full meaning or implication of what was narrated. As a result, more pointed questions needed to be asked that tended to be more structured. When stories were told the analytic tool to analyse the data was not present in the grounded theory methodology, perhaps naturally, as the approach, although qualitative, makes use of a more structured and positivist oriented approach and categorisation of the data.

The senior management are all embedded in a rich cultural context and make conscious and unconscious references to meta discourses from their home countries and from the local environment. It may be useful to recall the definition of this group that was provided in section 3.1.1, page

54. As will be discussed below, the narrative approach makes it possible to produce rich data, to elicit how the managers perceive and act in their environment and to make use of an analytic approach that may reveal answers and offer a method of analysis that penetrates deeper than grounded theory. Narrative methods are also suitable for a setting such as Tanzania in which there is a strong tradition of storytelling in the cultural environment and in organisations, in order to communicate. The narrative approach appeared a natural choice. The storehouse of the African's history is contained in their oral stories and reconstructed as tradition and history learning during festival events (Scheub, 1995, Owusu-Frempong, 2005). However, eventually, it was found that narrative analysis was not enough – there was a need to explore in more detail.

The iceberg metaphor below illustrates the analytic challenges leading to the decision as to what approach to take.

Figure 3.2.1 – Narrative and discourse analysis – the iceberg metaphor



The essential guidance is listed to the left in the figure, and the references to the thematic analysis are listed on the right. It was deemed necessary to go beyond the reality reflected by the words and to consider how the words created the reality of the people and what influenced their stories. The teachings of Professor Harding of Bradford University inspired this metaphor (extra qualitative module, Bonn, 2014).

3.2.2 Narrative approach

The narrative approach to this study was originally chosen as a way of developing depth of insight in understanding and interpreting the interview data. It eventually proved necessary to abandon this approach in favour of a discourse analysis approach, but this section discusses narrative approaches because they were an essential stage in leading to the final chosen position.

Narrative approaches lie within the framework of social constructionism. Pinnegar et al., in the *Handbook of Narrative Inquiry* (2007) is referred as CHN, (Clandinin, 2007). Pinnegar et al, (CHN 2007) described the narrative method “as the most compelling and appropriate way to study human interaction” (Pinnegar et al, CHN, 2007:6). An enacted narrative is “the most typical form of social life” (Czarniawska, 2004:3, citing Macintyre, 1981/1990:129). Czarniawska (2004) considers enacting as behaviour in organisations. She cites Boje (2001): “In organisations, storytelling is the preferred sense-making currency of human relationships among internal and external stakeholders” (p. 38). The intended research environment supports the idea of storytelling as Sub Saharan Africa has a

particularly rich oral tradition (Scheub, 1985). In his review of “African Oral Traditions and Literature”, Scheub states:

In general, the Sub Saharan societies seem to be story and oral oriented, and their oral traditions distil the essences of human experiences, shaping them into rememberable, readily retrievable images of broad applicability with an extraordinary potential for eliciting emotional responses (p. 1).

In order to elicit stories, Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) discuss interviewing across cultures and their multi-layered responses. Their description implies a close encounter with the interview subject and understanding of the meaning expressed. This path of reasoning seems to conform to the claim that the study of cultures demands a “thick description” of events, customs and behaviours (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005:17). Cultural studies are perhaps more illustratively described as “bricolage”. The interpretive “bricoleur” produces a bricolage, “a pieced together set of representations that is fitted to the specifics of a complex situation” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005:4).

Riesman’s (2008) definition of three distinct terms in her book *Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences* is informative:

One, the practice of story telling represents the narrative impulse, i.e. a universal way of communicating. Two, the narrative data is the empirical materials or objects of scrutiny. Three, the narrative analysis represents the systematic study of narrative data (p. 8).

Riessman uses the terms story and narrative interchangeably in her work; and the same terms are used in this thesis. It seems obvious that when a person is telling a story she or he is at the same time narrating, or composing the story for different purposes. Storytelling or narration serves

different purposes for individuals and groups. The purpose for individuals is usage like arguing, entertaining, engaging or persuading. The frequent use for management groups would be to mobilise and engage others in their strategic thinking and, therefore, encourage endorsement of their ideas (Riessman, 2008). A fully formed narrative as described by Riessman (2008) consists of six elements:

... an abstract (summary and/or plot of the story); orientation (to time place, characters, situation); complication action (the event sequence, or plot, usually with crisis or turning point); evaluation (where the narrator steps back from the action to comment on meaning and communicative emotions – the “soul” of the narrative); resolution (the outcome of the plot); and coda (ending the story and bring action back to present) (p. 84).

All elements of a story are not always present and different narrators may complement each other so that together they form a full story. For instance, Boje (2001) argues that stories occur as fragments in between or as antenarratives, as he describes them. He defines antenarrative in the following terms:

...fragmented, non-linear, incoherent, collective, unplotted, and improper storytelling (p. 1).

Subjects contribute through their narrations to the final story; they may not necessarily intend for it to be represented in another story, but it may support and even explain both the one intended and another, connected story and sometimes represent an alternative view of the story which another subject narrated or contributed to. The final story or stories may be regarded as consisting of several antenarratives together forming the full story. It is important to note that not all narrations will represent

antenarratives as they are too fragmented and it is too much to assume that they belong to a particular story or discourse. The final choice is a subjective selection based upon the position of the researcher.

Czarniawska (1998, 2004) and Riessman (1993, 2008) suggest that one should search the data to identify a story and its various aspects that will include:

- An original state of affairs
- An action or an event
- The consequent state of affairs
- Organising the sequence chronologically
- Expressing or leaving room for the reader to imply causality.
- Plotting the result, which thus gives a meaningful whole.

Czarniawska (1998) claims “that narrative research involves individual experimentation accompanied by reflection” (p. 19).

Consequently, when analysing data using narrative techniques the researcher is free to find the method: “... the device is for everybody to use, reconstruct and deconstruct at will” (Czarniawska, 1998:17).

The individual experimentation and reflection that was adopted in this study proved ultimately fruitless, as the analysis focused more and more on discourse analysis, as will now be discussed.

3.2.3 Discourse theory

A more detailed analysis was needed when the narrative analysis proved inadequate, because it did not disclose what was behind the stories of the interviewees. Discourse theory is closely linked to narrative theory and provides what Hardy and Phillips call a “complementary insight” (2002:33). The reason for applying this approach is the fact that people are embedded in the metanarratives (or dominance discourses) of society. The discourse analysis may reveal how narrations produced in the interviews are influenced by these metanarratives. Hardy and Phillips (2002) argue that discourse analysis provides the critical dimension for a text to be understood. The definition of text includes “talk, written texts, nonverbal interactions, films, television programs, and other media, symbols and artefacts” (Hardy and Phillips, 2002:70). Discourse analysis does not focus on individual texts, but bodies of texts and how together they constitute the social reality (Hardy et al, 2002). “We define discourse as an interrelated set of texts, and the practice of their production, dissemination, and reception, that brings an object into being” (Parker, 1992 cited by Hardy and Phillips, 2002:3). The cultural terms may include, for example, tribe, tribalism, family and kinship, but most must be interpreted given the context of their representations. The language used may be different if it is expressed in an organisation managed by a European expatriate versus an indigenous Tanzanian. In the former, the Western knowledge construct will likely dominate, whereas in the latter, the local language is likely to have a more significant representation. The experience of the social worlds will be different in the two contexts.

The key source for identifying the discourses and the meanings are, in this case, the interview text supplemented by field notes, media and publications, to the extent they elucidate or support the findings in the interviews. The epistemology of this study is based on social constructionist approach and supports the choice of a socio-linguistic analysis examining samples of the interview text or comments (Hardy and Phillips, 2002). The aim is to understand how the texts provide insight into the organisation and construction (of the discourse), as well as how they may construct other phenomenon (Hardy and Phillips, 2002). Following this reasoning, the text constitutes social experience and social reality for the narrators.

Discourse analysis is meant to reveal the use of existing discourses and possibly the production of new discourses, not as singled out stories, but as several stories producing a new discourse or a new social reality.

According to Hardy and Phillips (2002:9), “narrative analysis can be used to connect ‘micro events’ to broader discourses as a way to show how narratives and conversations construct social experience”.

The micro events are considered to construct topics that reflect or construct the social experience (Phillip and Hardy 2002). The topics consist of several concepts and themes (Phillip and Hardy 2002). However, the use of ‘theme’ and ‘concepts’ may indicate approaches such as thematic analysis and grounded theory analysis. In order to avoid this confusion, it was decided to name the overall element, the topic, and the parts thereof micro stories as they together construct the topic (see template 3.5.2, page 100).

Most other approaches tend to allocate data to analytic categories, whereas discourse analysis focuses on the social construction of the categories themselves. As Hardy and Phillips note (2002):

“...Thus the task of discourse analysis is not to apply categories to participants talk, but rather to identify the ways in which participants themselves actively construct and employ categories in their talks. Further, all categorisation is provisional: analysis requires constant reflexive attention to the process of categorisation of both the participant and the analyst ...” (Wood and Kroger, 2000:29-30, cited by Hardy and Phillips, 2002:10).

According to Hardy and Phillips (2002), the emergent aspect of the data analysis makes it impossible to provide a template, although they constructed one on the basis of their analytic work. The authors introduce the three level conception of the text: the text itself, the role of discourse and the context of the discourse or where it is used (Hardy and Phillips, 1998). They argue that discourse constructs objects and concepts. In order to construct a practical template, their approach to analysing the constructs of cartoons is applied (Hardy and Phillips, 1998:77). Adapting to the use of this approach, topics represent the basis for analysis. The first analytic step is to identify the topics and their micro stories. The micro stories are grouped under ‘micro event’ that are named and represent an explanatory part of the overall topic. Thereafter the meaning of the topics is elucidated by defining the meaning of the micro stories. All topics are derived from the micro events and how they are constructed within the terms of an emerging discourse.

The reason for choosing the discourse approach was as mentioned to disclose a deeper understanding of what was behind the stories narrated

than could be found in narrative analysis. In chapter 4 the focus is on micro stories that form topics that construct discourses that influence how people perceive each other. Chapter 5 elucidates how the topics inform the construction of societal and organisational discourses by examining the topics and micro stories told by the various interviewees. Within the main topics, several interviewees are quoted and their narrations analysed and through this process discourses are revealed. This means that micro stories may support different discourses in more than one way and in a different way from that expressed or intended by interviewees during our discussions.

However, it remains necessary to make sense of the analytic outcomes in organisations from the viewpoint of the organisational practitioner and the academic practitioner. They represent two different sets of interests, one theorising plural outcomes and the other making calculated risk choices (Zundel and Kokkalis, 2010, Mohrman et al, 2011). Consequently, in chapter 6, the focus is on the micro stories and how they constitute management discourses in use by the interviewees. The analytic work to achieve this is as expressed in appendix II, 'Discourse Analysis of Managerial Perceptions and Their Organisational Stories'.

3.2.4 Reflexivity

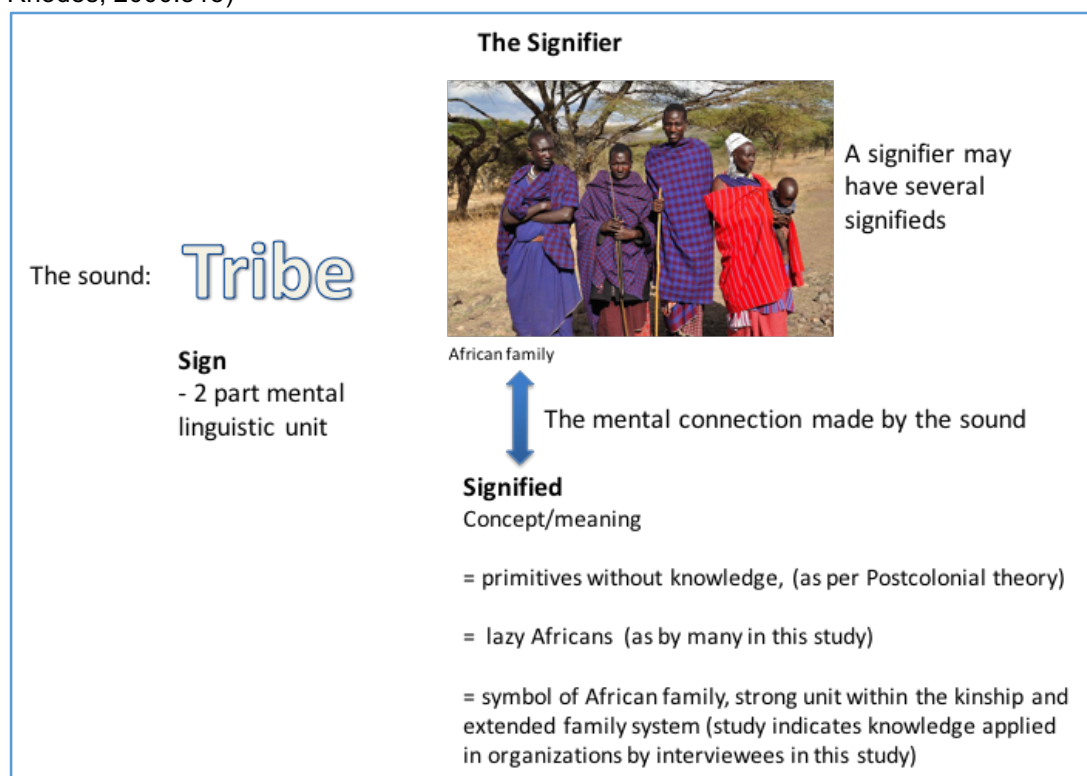
Czarniawska (2008) asserts that narrative research involves individual experimentation and reflection demanding a structured and practical reflective approach. It is the researcher's intention to discuss the findings in this study in a way that represents the interviewees and their perceived

reality of the social and organisational life within Western companies in Tanzania. However, Representations can also be viewed as social constructions that are created by the researcher through his application of theories and models (Rhodes, 2000). In order to illustrate the complexity of representation of the real, Rhodes introduces Baudrillard (1983) to illustrate his postmodern view of sign systems and the concept of the Sign. Baudrillard claims that sign systems and simulations are replacing the real, which can be observed in the mass media that has created a new culture of signs and images. He calls this the concept of simulation. For Baudrillard, we are left with simulacra, “images which refer to nothing”. It is “a hyper-reality in which there is nothing to see save simulations which appear to be real” (Best and Kellner, 1991:120 cited by Johnsen and Duberley, 2000:98). Simulation seems to refer to a process in motion, whereas simulacra refer to a more stagnant image. We are, in other words, living in a reflected world. The conceptual thinking may be closely linked to brand names and brand signs, like “Kodak” or Xerox, which are transformed into verbs symbolising photographing and photocopying. It is intriguing that the brand itself loses its value when this happens becoming generalised rather than unique for a specific service or product (Aaker, 2002). It represents something else or has no reality behind it, and in the world of the brand refers to nothing. Both Kodak and Xerox are fading away as producers, but the signs remain. The dimensions of the Sign, that implies an understanding, illustrate the complexity of presenting the reality of the interviewees (Book review of Hyde, 1980, “Jacques Lacan’s psychoanalytic theory of speech and language”, Stewart, 1980). In this case, the function

of speech, representing how such functions structure a person's unconscious and conscious reality is depicted in the figure below (Hyde, 1980). Whilst searching the web for an adequate depiction of the word tribe, it is observed how photographers depict Africans as primitive warriors, poor families and costumed people. From my experience, this represents only a part of what can be observed in Sub Saharan Africa. There are dimensions of realities missing, but what is missing does not fit into the postcolonial theory whereby Africans are perceived as primitives in need of Western enlightenment.

Another, and deeper analysis of 'tribe', may be introduced to illustrate what the word actually signifies and what Western expatriates perceive when they hear the words 'tribe' and 'tribalism'.

Figure 3.2.4 - Dimension of Sign – the sound Tribe – making use of Baudrillard (cited by Rhodes, 2000:515)



The sound “tribe” represents a two-part mental linguistic unit, the signifier, in this case the mental image of an African family, a nuclear family which has several signified meanings or concepts, the primitive without knowledge in accordance with the postcolonial theory, a lazy African as perceived by many in this study or the symbol of a strong family unit within the kinship and extended family system, all perceived as such by interviewees and, more importantly, made use of as a concept by Tanzanians when managing in a Western oriented organisation. The Asians have a similar approach, but from a different stance and with different implication as will be seen. Close to the sound of “tribe” is the sound of “tribalism”, immediately connoting different things to different listeners. Among Western expatriates a depiction of a coveted African cluster of extended ethnic families is imagined and the signified(s) are nepotism, pressure from family and biased conduct in organisations as well as an employment practice not accepted by the authorities as ethnic groups should not form clusters in companies (field notes and diaries from Ghana, 2013, Nigeria, 2005, and the very intention of the political *Ujamaa* in Tanzania). The interviewees expressed satisfaction that tribalism was dissolved; hence, one may assume that even Tanzanians imagine some of the same concepts of the signified. This analysis is presented to illustrate the conception of the words tribes and tribalism when spoken by someone. It also defends the use of the word ‘tribe’ instead of the socially correct ‘ethnic group’ as the deeper meaning is otherwise lost.

In parts of this section I will change from the third person to first person because I present personal reflections and they may not be

generalizable. In this thesis, I as the researcher deconstruct what is told, and construct stories of how the interviewees perceive the stories within the framework of the research question. It relies on structured analysis and reflective process. My reflections represent a subjective epistemological approach to the research, in order to reveal the perceived reality (Johnson and Duberley, 2000). The reflective process is intrinsically linked to learning and making sense of what we learn from our approach (Kolb 1984, Schön 1983). Analytic writing as part of the reflective process is also creative and an essential part of the reflectiveness necessary to interpret the stories prevailing in this work (Richardson and St. Pierre, cited by Denzin and Lincoln, 2005:974). Therefore, a story is being “told” in writing, actually narrating the meaning that narrative impulse leads to, for example, the stories formed while analysing and writing (Riessman, 2004). This represents an opportunity to “produce different knowledge and produce knowledge differently” (Richardson and St. Pierre, cited by Denzin and Lincoln, 2005:969). Writing enables making sense of what is analysed and the outcomes are not necessarily expected. Unknowns are revealed and may not fit into previous assumptions. In particular, the inclusion of traditional knowledge and postcolonial discourses enabled a richer understanding of the text analysed. From a practical point of view, in particular, the tools provided by a computerised version of Mind mapping and the reflective and experiential learning teachings of Moon (2004, 2006) assisted the reflective and theorising process.

My experiences from a range of events in various African countries including Tanzania informed my understanding of the stories told by the

interviewees as reality. This perceived reality influences the presentation of what is acted and perhaps limits as well as expands their interpretations. The stories formed through several contributors may not represent the story topic an individual would narrate; rather, it is a representation of several inputs and of the researcher's own interpretation of the narratives. In other words, her or his research interest and own experience form part of the interpretations and the theories applied. In this way, the researcher claims to present the opinions of the interviewees, whereas he/she actually presents and socially constructs something new through his writing practices (Rhodes, 2000). The researcher is not only interested in what the interviewees act through their stories, but also why they act the way they do and understand their worlds, explaining how this shapes their practices. This information and insight may be used to change hers or his and other's practices through interactions in the organisations.

Conducting qualitative research represents a format where the researcher is visible, recognising that his experience, perceptions and relation to others matters to the outcome (Johnson and Duberley, 2000). The researcher influences the interview context and the interviewee by the way he or she relates to the interviewee, from his or her questions and thereby influences how the interviewee is responding. The necessary rapport formed between the two may be unique and the two construct the stories together. The researcher may try to avoid influencing the content of the conversation together with the interviewee except with regard to the subject generally, but his or her physical presence and the mutual forming of the encounter will influence how the interviewee responds, (Kvale and

Brinkman 2009). Others can never reach the same interview outcome because both the researcher and the research subjects are humans and their interactions are influenced by their social environment which cannot be reconstructed at a later stage. In other words, “theory of knowledge presupposes knowledge of the conditions in which knowledge took place”, which represents an impossibility (Johansen and Duberley, 2000:177). Our social worlds are dynamic and ever changing. Researchers should, consequently, demystify their work and make it transparent providing insight and enabling critique that may improve the approaches (Johnsen and Duberley, 2000, Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). Reading text is a creative process; readers of this text will have their own assumptions and taken-for-granted perceptions substantiating why an overarching reality or truth cannot be identified (Johnsen and Duberley, 2000).

In analysing the text, not only is the researcher influenced by the aims of the research and his wish to find an answer to the research question, he is also constructing a new story from the interview texts, and including supporting information from the background literature and his selection of research articles. When you read this, it represents an interaction between you, the author and the text produced (Czarniawska, 2004). According to Riessman (2008), the author is designing his text for you as a particular reader, arguing, engaging, persuading and doing his best to avoid misleading you. The process is text as action and text as social construction.

3.3 WHAT DATA?

3.3.1 Organisational context – choice of respondents

Three considerations were important when deciding who to interview. How many to recruit; how to recruit them and; most importantly, the criteria to be used in recruiting participants. These three aspects will be discussed in turn and the table which follows this discussion contains the relevant data about the interviewees that will be referred to in the analysis which follows.

The *sample size* was set at 20 participants: this is a sufficient number to allow the identification of discourses and at the same time it met the more general need as set by Creswell (2013), i.e. to avoid carrying out too many interviews because of the danger of not collecting sufficient extensive detail of individuals studied. The intent is not to generalise, but to elucidate the particular (Pinnegar & Daynes 2007 referred by Creswell 2013:157). All interviews should be conducted either ‘on site’ or in environments that assumedly would inspire story telling of phenomenon linked to their management practice.

Snow ball or chain referral sampling was used to recruit interviewees meaning that the selection of interviewees was made among people who “share or know others who possess some characteristics that are of research interest” (Biernacki and Waldorf 1981:141). The recruitment process for the individual interviews started as an experience-based selection among people known to the factory. After three or four interviews, the category selection was narrowed down based upon the available information. The information sought concerned experienced people. Among

the expatriates only senior managers belonged to this category, hence the pragmatic decision to focus on senior managers. The interview *participants* were chosen from a similar type of firms or companies to that which had inspired the research, i.e. from any industrial, production companies or organisations with Western owners or operating influenced by Western management methods. A detailed description of the categories of interviewees excluded and chosen is inserted below.

The international factory providing access is located in a rural area, but also has offices and contacts in the urban areas. The sampling of interviewees should represent members of managing groups, a mix of expatriates and indigenous managers including, preferably, expatriate settlers/emigrants, both men and women and some younger representatives. This would secure a geographical spread, rural and urban representation, age and gender mix and most importantly, experience at senior management level. The intention is to achieve diversity and not to depend upon one particular type of interview subject. Another criterion should be ability to speak English both to understand the researcher, and also as this is the natural language of communication among management in Western oriented companies in Tanzania. Summed up; all people should be qualified to the extent that they satisfy the following criteria: wide business network in Tanzania, at least 5–8 years' Tanzanian experience and well regarded in their field. Snowball sampling led to the inclusion of several participants whose country of origin or ethnic identity is Asian – Indian or Pakistani. It turned out that senior managers who share this identity feature in comparatively large numbers in Western-oriented firms in

Tanzania. These were therefore included in the sample, with the focus remaining on how they speak and the presence or absence of Western or African influence in their speech.

The gender issue requires some qualification. Female employees are few in management groups in Western companies in Tanzania. This is a challenge according to the researcher's experience when working in a larger company. The husbands of Western female expatriates, according to explanations offered, could not cope with their women being bread winners and female managers had to leave during their contract. This took place every time a married female manager arrived and in three different Sub Saharan African countries. Three women, all directors in operations or administration (not human resources), were left to work in their leading positions as single women. As a consequence, the work opportunities in Africa for married women are reduced, at least within this particular business group. This fact will not be elaborated further in the present study, but is considered as part of the explanation for the selection of interviewees. Generally, the Western management group is male-dominant, and if women are employed, they are usually in a non-dominant position like human resource management or locally based. Such a position is normally under the full authority of men in the management group, an example of the exercise of male power. Fortunately, three female indigenous Tanzanian top managers were identified and interviewed: one company owner, one head of an organisation and one upcoming manager. The inclusion of Asian senior managers added an additional dimension to the research. The selection of indigenous Tanzanians represented a mix of

higher positions, and consideration of ethnic groups was avoided on the assumption that these were “destroyed” during the Nyerere “Ujamaa” period of 1967 to 1984 (Ibhawoh et al., 2003). The researcher was told that Asian managers social structure and business organisations are hierarchical and that trustworthy information would likely only appear from the top director or chief executive officer, influencing the focus on very senior managers from this community.

The research was somewhat delayed due to an assignment for a company that provided access to interview subjects. The assignment work consumed much time and attention, whilst simultaneously qualifying the interviewee selection.

Some categories of people were excluded on grounds of relevance. The categories to include and exclude were discussed with both European expatriates and Asians. When doing the snow ball sampling the potential interviewee was cross checked with the managing director of the corporation granting the researcher a work assignment. However, people may be categorised differently in Africa and in Tanzania than what may seem obvious or common. Consequently, detailed descriptions are offered below. The categories excluded are listed first, before the categories of participants included in this study.

1. Tanzanian Arabs have resided in Tanzania since 2000 years ago.

They are still called ‘Arabs’ by the local indigenous population. Arabs are excluded from this study as they are seldom if ever represented in top management groups or in Western oriented companies. According

to the interview subjects, people from this category seem to run their own smaller scale businesses which were outside the scope of this study.

2. Indian expatriates mean people from India or Pakistan, though in Tanzania this is mostly Indians according to the interviewees. 'Asians' will include people born in other African countries. No difference seemed to be made between a Kenyan, Ugandan or a Tanzanian Asian in the environment of the interviewees. They are excluded as they, according to Asians and Western expatriates interviewed, quickly adapt to the local Asian environment and become "one of them", and behave and think no differently from local Asian managers.
3. White Afrikaners, South Africans, represent new comers in Tanzania like the Chinese entering as managers and workers (Alden, 2007 and interview outcomes). As such they have too little experience of Tanzania for this study.

The above categories were excluded from this study for the reasons given. Those who participated belong to four groups, grouped and defined below:

1. European Expatriates seem to have some common characteristics. They represent the majority of Europeans and are easily identifiable. Some of them have wide African experience. Some are residents in Tanzania for a contract period and some of them are settlers. Settlers may be descendants of Europeans from the colonial period and have

Tanzanian or other African residency. 'Expatriates' appears to have become an exclusive title for white people in higher positions.

2. African expatriates mean an indigenous African from another African country. They are not found too often in senior management positions but it was considered useful to include this group as representatives of a new type of 'expatriates' as it symbolises the change in what is an 'expatriate', challenging old knowledge and prejudices.
3. Asians. Together with the expatriates, the European and the Africans, they represent the majority in the senior management category. Asians, even if they are Tanzanians, are not regarded as representatives of the local country by the indigenous population. Asians cluster as a distinct group. Asians from other African countries are regarded by locals (indigenous Tanzanians) as part of the 'local' Asians group, see position 2 regarding category exclusions above.
4. Local Tanzanians (Indigenous Tanzanians or locals) representing the core group in every aspect as representatives of the inhabitants of the country. By 'indigenous' is meant black Africans from Tanzania.

Abbreviations related to the research data such as IT (Indigenous Tanzanians) will not be applied. The same reasoning is followed for SSA (Sub Saharan Africa).

The table below summarises the interview subjects including the two group interviews. All names represent synonyms for the sake of confidentiality. Identification particulars beyond those listed are not revealed to maintain anonymity – any further specificity with regard to

biographies beyond this level would risk the anonymity and confidentiality of the interviewees which must of course be respected and protected.

Asians may be referred to as Asians or Indians as their identities are overlapping. The organisations the interviewees belong to are marked with capital letters from `A` to `K`.

Table 3.3.1 Respondents

Category	Geographical experience	Nick-name	Company	Gender	Position
Indigenous Tanzanian	Tanzania	Juma	A	Man	Executive Director
Indigenous Tanzanian	Tanzania	Godwin	B	Man	Managing Director
Indigenous Tanzanian	International	Ema	C	Woman	Managing Director
Indigenous Tanzanian	Tanzania	Edina	A	Woman	Manager
Indigenous Tanzanian	Tanzania	Grace	D	Woman	Executive director
Indigenous Tanzanian	Tanzania	Denis	A	Man	Manager
Summary of Indigenous Tanzanians				Three men Three women Six in total	Four top managers Two middle management
Asian Tanzanian	Tanzania	Toor	E	Man	Managing Director
Asian Tanzanian	International	Pandit	F	Man	Managing Director
Asian Tanzanian	Tanzania	Sidhu	G	Man	Managing Director
Asian Tanzanian	Tanzania	Andy	H	Man	CEO (Field note)
Summary of Asian Tanzanians				Four men	Four top managers
European expatriate	International	Bob	I	Men	Managing Director
European expatriate	International	Stan	J	Men	Managing Director
European expatriate	International	Lars	K	Men	Managing Director
Summary of European Expatriates				Three men	Three top managers
African Expatriate	International	Kevin	I	Men	Executive director
Summary				11 men Three women	11 top management Two senior management
Group interviews: Group 1		Indigenous Tanzanians		Two women	Senior and top management
Group 2		European expatriates		Four men	Top management
Total participants				20	

All together the interview material consists of 13 transcribed individual interviews, one non-recorded, but included as field notes, and

two group interviews with six participants, i.e. 20 opinions offered. When evaluating the outcome of the one-to-one interviews, it was realised that these interviews gave no indication of the composition of and inter-actions within a management group. It was considered useful to bring together mixed management groups to explore their inter-actions. According to Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) group interviews are useful for exploratory studies. The group participants were randomly selected from the interviewees, with some new interviewees recruited through the snow balling technique, following the criteria set (page 77 and section 3.3.6, page 89).

The company names of participants' present positions are indicated by capital letters such that three people are from company 'A', two are from company 'I' and the rest are from various other - companies. Of these other companies, only one is a service provider and only one is in the category of what is usually termed smaller, i.e. less than 40 employees.

3.3.2 Forming the interview guide – challenges

The interview guide is semi structured. It has clear areas to be responded to, but, on the other hand, digressions were encouraged within the scope of the topics as they could represent valuable new perspectives and provoke rich storytelling. The interview guide was for the use of the interviewer only. The questions were not on any particular area within management, but related to the research question, which was to find out how managers perceived each other and interacted with their staff and environment (see section 3.1). The questions, which were meant as triggers to initiate

storytelling by the interviewees, did not represent specific questions, rather paths of thinking supporting the interviewees' storytelling, when stories were narrated, memorised and reflected. The interviewees were also encouraged to tell stories.

When determining what to include in the interview guidelines, traditional business thinking came into play combined with the researcher's experience, in particular, working closely with Africans in many countries, coaching and guiding their organisations as well as taking part in strategic management discussions. The first part of the questions, with postcolonial theory in mind, was intended to elicit how people perceive and thus value each other, disclosing prejudices and attitudes. The second part addressed specific areas intended to identify factors that influence the local working environment. Included were questions that explored participants' contact with and perceptions of the local workforce capabilities. It was considered too far-reaching to include other stakeholders like the staff of the organisation in the research. Indirectly, the questionnaire rested on the assumption that cultural aspects were important to obtain an answer to the research question.

Interview guide:

- Broad area, setting the scene
 - Perception each other as a group and of themselves
 - Value and contribution to the organisation?

- Specific area
 - Motivation of people
 - Loyalty
 - Extended family
 - Traditional knowledge

3.3.3 Interview procedures and context

The interviews were planned to last between 45 minutes and one hour, which was considered the time a busy manager would be willing to allow when the date of the meeting was agreed. Consideration of transcription time also influenced the time setting, as the recording should be transcribed in full and by the researcher. It takes many hours to transcribe 45 minutes or more of interview recording in particular as English represents the transcriber's second language. A digital recorder was used. Interviewees were asked to set aside 45 minutes, although the interviews lasted between 45 and 60 minutes with an average closer to an hour.

The interviews were semi structured, in order to achieve the target of rich data, but still within a framework (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). The Elton Mayo technique was used (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009:45). Mayo's six-point checklist requires paying full attention to the person being interviewed, listening to the interviewee and not talking and never arguing or giving advice. It is necessary to listen to what he wants to say, what he does not want to say and what he can say without help. From time to time rehearse how you perceive what he says and underline the confidentiality.

The psychological approach, which was considered useful based on earlier experience, represented several aims: lowering the interviewer's voice somewhat so as not speak over the respondent, which would affect the transcription, i.e. promote the voice of the interviewee and avoid interrupting his trails of thought. This also serves as a discrete, but effective push to continue to speak. The storytelling improved when the interview was only broadly laid out. The low degree of structure allows the paths indicated by the question guide to be answered more freely and to avoid breaking off trails when the respondent leaves the original paths. Some, very few interviewees answered only briefly whilst others narrated closer to a full story.

3.3.4 Ethics

Most interviews took place at the work site of the interviewees, in meeting rooms or offices, in order to represent a natural working environment for the interviewees and level, as much as possible, the relative power position of the interviewer. For practical reasons, two interviews were arranged in restaurants chosen by the interviewee. One group interview was conducted in a home as one interviewee chose to be the host. His home was familiar to all participants in the group interview. Each interview began with the signing of a consent form, and a sequence of verifying questions and answers as this had not been done when the appointment was made (appendix 1). The Ethics Committee of Bradford University approved this consent form in advance. In order for my adviser Dr Hugh Lee to achieve an understanding of the local context considered useful for his guidance of

me, he participated as observer in the group interviews based upon the participants' prior acceptance. The advisor took no part in the interviews.

The interviewees were all made aware that they could at any time end the interview without any negative consequences. In a few cases the interviews took place at short notice as this suited the interviewee in his busy working day. In other words, all interviews took place in an environment which was natural and familiar to the interviewees with the interviewer leaving the control of the arena to the host and reducing the potential influence of his position. All interviewees were made aware that only the researcher, his adviser and possibly another researcher could listen to the recording afterwards. The material would otherwise be kept safely locked and not available to anyone beyond the researcher. No responses or identities would be disclosed to anyone in the local environment. Complete anonymity for the participants was underlined.

Introducing myself as a researcher, I made use of a "doctoral researcher" card and not my own consultancy company card or the identification of the company I had an assignment for. This seemed to work well and aroused some curiosity that increased the confidence in what was about to take place. All participants, apart from one interviewee, accepted the use of a recorder and assurance of absolute discretion. The expected bias concerning age, gender and ethnicity did not seem to disturb any of the interviewees or create difficulties.

All interviewees were managers and some may have perceived the researcher as a colleague, not a threatening person interfering in their

lives. After all, the questions did not explore their relationships with colleagues; it was what people normally regard as non-committing, the general work experience, and it was made clear that whatever was said, it was not intended to concern any known person or persons. All interviewees were successful in their jobs and obviously felt secure being exposed to the interview situation which was non-threatening. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) describe the craft of interviewing. In sales, interviewing is an integral part, and some 40 years of sales and negotiations in diverse cultural settings may have eased the interview situation for the interviewees. A respectful, humble and still curious and advice-seeking approach usually works well.

Care has been taken to maintain the anonymity of the contributors to the present study, although this has to some extent reduced the opportunity to theorise. The geographical origin of some of the interviewees is very telling and making this visible would have explained their attitudes in a better way though not changed the outcome of the study. The local managerial environment is not that wide and being too specific about location would have identified the interviewees.

3.3.5 Securing rigour, trustworthiness, craftsmanship, communicative and pragmatic credibility

Morse et al. (2002:1) emphasise the rigour needed to ensure the quality of the research process and its outcome, claiming that without rigour “research is worthless, becomes fiction and loses its utility”. Strategies of rigour should be built into the research as an interactive process during the whole undertaking. Although Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), like Morse et al.

(2002), retain the traditional concepts of reliability, validity and generalisation, at the same time, they introduce relevant terms for the qualitative approach. In particular, the validity terms must be replaced as they belong to the positivist approach (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). Reliability relates to consistency and trustworthiness. It is often discussed in connection with the reproducibility of findings, whether another researcher will obtain the same answers. Validity is replaced with truth, strength and correctness of a statement. In short, it should be credible and trustworthy. Like Morse et al. (2002), Kvale and Brinkmann claim that this is not a separate stage, “but permeates the entire research process”. They introduce a seven-stage process covering the whole research process (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009:248, box 15.1). They want to go beyond “the extremes of subjective relativism in interview research” and demystify and bring validity/credibility back “from philosophical abstractions to the everyday practice of scientific research”. They introduce and treat validity/credibility as quality of craftsmanship, communicative validity/credibility and pragmatic validity/credibility (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). Considering the validity/credibility of the validity/credibility question, they describe the ideal outcome; that the knowledge claims are so convincing and powerful that they carry validation in them (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). For this to be the case, the procedures must be transparent, the results evident and the study conclusions intrinsically convincing (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). The transparency of research procedures is essential, if what is written is what is conducted and not disguised behind theoretical abstractions. Provided the research is

considered credible, the question whether the result is only locally credible or can be generalised or transferred to other subjects and situations can be addressed. Freeman describes the end result of the narrative approach as representing “regions of truth” implying a diversity of answers (CHN, Freeman 2007:132).

Criticism is levelled against the qualitative approach because it is difficult to replicate for several reasons, one of them being the actual practical approach is seldom revealed or possible to reflect in sufficient detail to copy. Social constructionism is in itself difficult to copy; how the researcher relates to the interviewees represents data provoked by the atmosphere of the interview at a particular time. This is the reason why the quality securing process outlined by Morse et al. (2002) and Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) is so vitally important; it may be similar to findings in other research efforts and thus represent findings of mutual support or criticism. The results of this thesis are from Tanzanian society as experienced by the researcher and the interviewees at the time of interviewing. They are further influenced by the subjective insights of the researcher during the writing of the thesis.

3.3.6 Construction of group interviews

The individual interviews revealed attitudes among the managers that indicated a certain composition of the management group. Would a gathering of interviewees reveal the same opinions? Was it correct as assumed that in this obviously male-dominated environment, the men would position women in positions with little or no influence in the

management group? Would group interviews disclose any other issues not mentioned in the individual interviews? These questions supported the decision to conduct group interviews. The questions should be entirely open and allow a free exchange of opinions. Four different group interviews were planned, two in Dar es Salaam and two in Tanga, on the coast near the Kenyan border. The groups were to consist of members of the same ethnicity to avoid any ethnic bias. Three groups of Asians, Tanzanians and Western expatriates would represent experienced people, and the fourth group would consist of younger Asians to see whether they had different opinions. Unlike the other ethnic groups, the younger Asians would run their own businesses or have leading positions in their parents' undertakings. However, only two groups materialised (see section 3.3.7, page 92).

The actual procedure was informal, and started with a brief presentation of each member. The group members received a blank sheet of paper, glue and five copies of each "picture" of a potential manager. The individual members of the groups glued the picture on the paper and wrote underneath the position this person should fill. Then, the group members presented her/his view. When all views were presented, the outcomes and a possible consensus were discussed satisfying the exploratory character (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009). The aim of the pictorial material was to give the participants a task and see how it could trigger further opinions. It could reveal a possible difference between espoused theory (what they say they do) and theory of action (what they actually do) (Argyris, 2006).

A typical senior executive group will include (though not be limited to) a Managing Director and Directors of Finance, Production (Technical) Marketing and Human Resources. These positions were used as representative positions for interviewees to individually and then collectively ‘populate’ a senior management team. Thus members of the focus group decided the overall profile of the company together. Five management positions were consequently considered to represent the management group in an operational unit abroad for a Western oriented company (see the titles in table 3.3.6).

Table 3.3.6 – Question guide group interview

GROUP OPINIONS	MANAGING DIRECTOR	FINANCE DIRECTOR	TECHNICAL DIRECTOR	MARKETING DIRECTOR	HUMAN RESOURCE DIRECTOR
GROUP NO.:					
CHOICE:					
KEY ARGUMENT					
FEMALE TANZANIAN		ASIAN			
MALE TANZANIAN		MALE EXPATRIATE			

The collection of pictures proved problematic as it was difficult to find depictions of a typical local Indian or Asian businessman, and a depiction of a Sikh was used to mark the difference. Interestingly, this mistake and potential bias contrasted with the individual interview outcome and served as a very useful correction or differentiation of the responses. A traditional picture of a white male expatriate was chosen, likewise a black man symbolising a Tanzanian and, eventually, a black woman symbolising a female Tanzanian. As all pictures were from Microsoft Office and PowerPoint clip art, no copyrights have been violated.

3.3.7 Interview experiences – individual and group interviews

The interviews, including the two group interviews, took place in familiar and comfortable surroundings for the respondents, either in their offices or meeting rooms. One group met in a participant's home with which they were familiar. The subjects decided on the time of the interview that most suited them and this meant they could be at ease in relation to other tasks. The interviews were based upon the active seeking of rapport, informality and openness. Regarding field notes, a template was applied derived from Moon (2004 and 2006). It was also useful to use this format when making observations, as it required reflecting on what was actually observed.

The one-to-one interview process went smoothly with only one exception when the interviewee refused to be recorded. By agreement the notes from this interview were used as field notes. It is assumed that the reason for this guarded behaviour was expectations that sensitive issues would be discussed – and as some groups are suspected of behaviour like corruption and other similar activities – which the interviewee would not like to comment on. However, there may have been other reasons and it would be wrong to make any conclusion regarding this matter. Furthermore, one interview was impossible to transcribe as there was too much external noise. However, listening carefully gave a sense of the meaning and the notes from this interview were also treated as field notes. The sound distortion was due to environmental noise combined with a particularly soft tone of voice.

The questions were designed so as not to give any indication of any response wanted, but rather to allow for natural personal opinion and thoughts to be expressed wherever possible. Sensitivity towards expected questions regarding corruption was particularly apparent among contractors. There was relief when corruption was not a subject. Tanzania is, as many African countries, plagued by “corruptive” behaviour among the elite, in particular the political elite (Calderisi 2007). In all the interviews it was emphasised that sensitive and political issues would not be discussed, but after the guarded behaviour, this point about corruption and other sensitive issues was further stressed. Another issue of sensitivity concerned postcolonial attitudes, but apart from careful wording by the respondents, it was not really a conscious issue except for one person who, it was noticed, used strong colonial language when referring to Africans in general.

The group interviews represented a challenge. In Dar es Salaam only two of the four invited women turned up, one even 45 minutes late. The expatriates of the Dar es Salaam group did not turn up and did not produce any strong reason for their absence despite promising the day before to participate. In Tanga the expatriate group interview went well. The Asians invited did not turn up. Before the meeting, reminders were sent. When the expatriate participants were called the morning before the meeting, they advised that they could not attend. This was similarly the case regarding a younger group of Asians in Tanga. The group of older Asians did not keep the appointment and offered no explanation in advance. Instead, one of the Asians approached me in a social setting to

mention the funeral of a family member, implying that in his culture most would be affected by such an event. This incident may disclose a different mode of communication related to Indian culture like indirect speech as when a speaker communicates more than what is actually said (Samovar and Porter, 1997). This mode seems to be universal though the degree may increase in eastern Asia (Samovar and Porter, 1997). This could explain the indirect communication by one of the respondents. He probably expected that the researcher would understand his Asian kinship system that is much stronger than the European one. His indirect reference would explain everything. Another explanation could have been the expected sensitive questions surrounding corruption, and as reluctance to be interviewed only concerned contractors. This is a group particularly exposed to corruption, and not only in Africa, as the Norwegian daily newspapers regularly report.

3.3.8 Transcription

For methodological reasons, all transcriptions were done in full by the researcher as it was considered useful for analysis and enabled enriched transcription notes for later analysis. There was obviously much learning from the method of interviewing that enabled an improved interview approach (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). Another person transcribed one interview, and the researcher could only observe as expected that more distance from these narrative data existed. These data were less rich, as the process of mentally recovering the situation did not take place in the

same way as for the other transcriptions. Consequently, this experience led to the decision that the researcher should transcribe all interviews. However, transcribing is demanding and requires discipline. For the transcriptions, field notes were consulted. New comments were added to the field notes as the voices of the interviewees brought to mind more incidents and observations from the interviews. Besides, memories of other experiences were added to the field data, which during analysis supported the meaning elicited from the text. Care was taken not to direct the concluding analysis in a particular way or to confirm or disconfirm assumptions of the final story told.

3.4 WHAT KIND OF ANALYSIS?

As earlier discussed (see figure 3.2.1, page 59), the data produced in the interviews represent rich and multi-layered texts secured by the process and the interview guide. The analysis should reveal ways in which managers speak and how they perceive each other and the local population within their working settings, and the discourses that inform those ways of speaking.

3.4.1 Introduction

As explained earlier, an initial belief that narrative analysis would prove useful was misplaced, and it was decided to focus on discourse analysis of topics and micro stories that would identify the conscious or unconscious references to discourses in managers' talk. However, some elements of narrative analysis continued to inform the data analysis, as Phillips and

Hardy (2002) suggest it would. Micro stories represent the fragments that together support the construction of a topic that reveals or constructs a discourse. The micro stories are mainly from the interviews, but may be supported external micro stories.

3.4.2 Discourse analysis

The text subjected to analysis represented a complete transcription from which narrated text was extracted as micro stories and positioned in an analytic template and deconstructed and then constructed into a discourse, see template 3.5.2 page 100) (Phillips and Hardy 2002). Simultaneously, topic labels indicating discourses were applied and the micro stories were grouped under micro events that were named.

The micro stories in this study revealed important external and internal discourses that Western organisational theories need to take into consideration. Together, micro stories aided the identification of the overriding discourses of colonialism and the kinship system and indicated other discourses and, most importantly, confirmation of kinship knowledge as applied knowledge in organisations.

The outcome of the three-level conception of the text is illustrated below (Hardy and Phillips, 2002:86). Columns 7 to 9 in template 3.5.2, page 100 represent the outcome of the template construction. The template is explained in detail in the subchapter “Analytic overview and format of analysing”.

- I Text - Micro stories from interview data and other sources

- II Discourse - The role of discourse:
 Extended family metaphor
 - For example kinship relations: Serves as loyalty and dedication to the work through the social bonding of the kinship system to which all participants in the office may have an internalised reference

- III Context - Business organisational level:
 - Used by managers in their organisations

Several micro stories will enable the above construction. Together, they represent the social world of the managers and their employees. This enables the theorising of a “new” management language and supports the suggestion that the “subalterns speak” using their own unique language, whereas the Western manager makes use of a Western language that does not contain reference to the identified local discourse. His language is different, and for the indigenous Tanzanians, the language of the “Other” they may not always fully comprehend. The Asians apply the same terms, but as will be theorised, as a separate group with different conceptions.

3.4.3 Securing the quality of the study

Throughout the whole research an iterative process was applied. The interview guide was pre-tested and discussed with the director of a non-participating company. The first three interviews were informally regarded as pilot tests and after the first analysis were found useful. After some interviews new elements were added as conversation topics. The fact that the guide produced coherent stories served to ensure that the guide and the interview process were perceived as adequate for the investigation. The outcomes of each interview were evaluated before the next interview. When transcribing the interviews, field notes from the interview were checked and notes added in order to support later analytic work. The analytic work involved much testing to determine what worked and the methodology chapter was not finalised until a workable approach was identified. The template containing the transcription was repeatedly consulted while writing up the findings. Occasionally, the recordings of interviews were also used in particular when reflecting upon the narratives and eventual stories. This iterative process also took place while writing up the discussion chapter.

3.5 PROCEDURES – ANALYTIC TREATMENT OF THE CONSTRUCTED INTERVIEW TEXT

3.5.1 Procedures

The process is presented in table 3.5.1 based on the findings of Hollingsworth et al. (CHN, 2007:155). It includes citations and adoptions

explaining the reasoning behind this study. However, in the below table, the initial grounded theory work is not included, although some of the experiences from the particularly rich text of the interviews are used as part of the analysis.

Table 3.5.1 Process of storytelling

Stage	Steps	Tasks
Stage 1: Transcription	Step 1: Identify the various stories presented in the interviews, combining the thinking of Riessman (2008), Czarniawska (2004), Hardy and Phillips (2002). These are later called 'topics'.	a) Study the transcript, identify the various fractions of stories and listen to the voice of the interviewee when further verification is needed. These are later called micro stories. The data are not saturated as in Grounded theory (Creswell, 2013, Bryant and Charmaz, 2007).
Analyse text	Combine the micro stories to support identification of topics and reveal discourses	b) form micro stories/fractions of stories into topics c) Identify the overarching discourses and how this adds to the understanding of the topics d) Be open to the possibility of sub-discourses or other macro-discourses for example as micro events
Compare, abstract text	Look for binary dimensions and possibility of commensurability	e) Identify to what extent different ethnic groups seem influenced by same or different discourses

3.5.2 Analytic overview and format of analysis

The aim of template 3.5.2 below aimed to reveal two categories of discourses. The first category is represented by the micro stories representing the analysis one and two, i.e. chapters 4 and 5 that together disclose overall topics linked to 'managerial perceptions' and 'organisational discourses'. This supports the identification of the two macro discourses of Orientalism and Kinship and their linked discourses. The second category represents the 'managerial discourses in an

organisational context’ and how the managers construct their management discourses.

The work of Westwood (2006) combined with the approach of Hardy and Phillips (2002) influenced the below template and analysis. The content is in this example linked to what supports the identification of the local Kinship discourse and is an extract from the analysis conducted. The template was also used to investigate binary and other dimensions. The principles behind are explained in section 3.2.3 ‘Discourse theory’, pages 64 to 67 as well as in section 3.4.2 ‘Discourse analysis’, page 96.

Template 3.5.2 Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis <small>Topic: Kinship management discourse</small> <small>Colour coding: Subaltern rejecting, taking own knowledge stance Kinship language in use Orientalist influence Hybridity Binary Dimensions</small>				
Interview data	Topics	Micro stories	Micro events	Definition of micro stories (The meaning of the micro stories)
(Interview text)	SUBALTERN SPEAKING	“When I see a white expatriate working in Tanzania, for example, what I don’t see he is doing a miracle or he is doing something that may be a local cannot do “ (Godwin Indigenous Tanzanian)	White expatriate not superior	Tanzanians take own stance of knowledge
	Taking a stance towards Western expatriates’ orientalist attitude			Tanzanian judges and evaluate
	KINSHIP IN ORGANISATIONS	“I will not have survived if we had been working on the strict business without any kind of , kind of community or sympathy from others” “... is because of the commitment of all of us, the commitment of workers, the commitment of the people I work with” (Ema, indigenous Tanzanian	Not survived if strict (Western) business Commitment	Ema refers to communal behaviour found in kinship system and contrast this to what she perceives is the Western concept of individual behaviour or contract decided behaviour Care and commitment inherited in the kinship construct

(Adapted from Hardy and Phillips, 2002:77)

The process of reducing the amount of text from the interviews represented a laborious process of identifying micro stories that had

relevance to the research question. The use of a template made the work consistent. Only in the final stages of the analysis was it possible to rank the importance of the topics in relation to the research question. The discourse analysis enabled a new understanding of the micro stories and a targeted focus on what mattered to answer the research questions.

This format and using colour codes improved the understanding and analysis of the discourses and of the binary dimensions, see appendix II for further examples of the analytic process.

Summary

This chapter has discussed the epistemological and methodological approach to my research. The cultural environment, and the fact that the oral story telling represents the indigenous African history storehouse, made the discourse analysis a natural choice. The management group tells stories from their organisational life, in how they perceive each other and their internal and external stakeholders.

There are three findings chapters and they make use of the interview text as the main source for the analysis in chapters 4, 5 and 6. Chapter 4 introduces the narrators or interviewees and how they perceive each other. Their perception of each other and the researcher's perception of them, impact how their stories are reconstructed by the researcher and understood or reconstructed in the readers' mind. When the interviewees construct stories about each other, they also construct generalisations about a wider population than managers within the category of people they tell stories about. The interviewees or narrators are listed in the previous

chapter (table 3.3.1, page 81). The aim of Chapter 4 is twofold: to present the interviewees and the stories about themselves and to identify possible compositions of the management group grounded on how they relate to each other and their environment. Sub chapter 4.1 contains introductions and conventions applied in all the findings chapters.

The wider context of the study is introduced in Chapter 5. Topics are elicited making use of contemporary Western strategy and grouped as societal and organisational themes or external and internal topics. The narrators' stories are, in other words, understood and re-constructed through a Western theoretical lens and by a Western thinker. However, as will be apparent in this chapter, the indigenous Tanzanians are positioning themselves as independent and critical narrators from their own, local perspective. The initial indication of "the subaltern speaking" is formed and indigenous organisational knowledge emerges (Spivak in Landry and Maclean 1996).

Chapter 6 explores the deeper meaning of what is narrated by the interviewees (see figure 3.2.1, page 59). It indicates the indigenous organisational knowledge and investigates commensurable dimensions between the Western and local discourses.

4.0 ANALYSIS ONE – MANAGERIAL PERCEPTIONS

4.1 INTRODUCTIONS TO THE FINDINGS CHAPTERS

The purpose of this chapter is to present how the different social groups in Tanzania talk about and perceive themselves and other groups as well as their own and other groups' people management approaches. Any discourses that influence the managers should be revealed through the process of analysis. The reader should be aware that Ujamaa and its history that will influence the narrations to be analysed, please see section 2.3.5 on page 32.

4.1.1 Conventions and definitions

The interviewees' story fragments are referred to as micro stories. The interviewees are either called interviewees or narrators. When cited they are referred to by name and ethnicity, for instance: Grace, indigenous Tanzanian. Abbreviations are mostly avoided in order to ease the understanding of the reader. For example, Sub Saharan Africa is written in full and not as SSA.

The definition of the groups is for the sake of simplicity as set out below and represents a simplified version of the content in section 3.3.1, page 74.

'European expatriate' or simply 'expatriate' refers to a white person working in Tanzania who originates from Europe or another area? region of western-oriented culture and development (USA or Canada for example).

'African expatriate' refers to an indigenous (but not Tanzanian)

African person from any other Sub Saharan Country.

'Indigenous Tanzanian' refers to an African (with citizenship) born in Tanzania.

'Asian' (in this study) refers specifically to a person whose ethnicity or ancestry belongs to India or Pakistan (i.e. not Sri Lanka, Bangladesh or Kashmir) independent of whether he or she was born in India, Tanzania or another African country.

Quotes from the literature are marked with quotation marks and embedded in the text thus: "A narrative is understood as spoken or written text giving an account of events/actions, chronologically connected" (Czarniawska 2004:17). If the quotes are extensive, they are indented as below:

"In organisations, storytelling is the preferred sense-making currency of human relationships among internal and external stakeholders. People engage in dynamic process of incremental refinement of their stories of events as well as on-going interpretations of culturally sacred story lines" (Boje 1991:106 in Czarniawska 2004:38)

The quotes from the interviews represent micro stories in the discourse analysis. They are in italic. For example:

"... That is basically how we are speaking to each other, how we perceive each other ..." (Juma, Indigenous Tanzanian).

When several micro-stories together form a topic, these are quoted as a continuing text, but divided using quotation marks. To some extent, the most excessive repetition of words or oral characteristics like 'I think', 'ah`s' or 'you know' are removed from the quotes to facilitate reading and understanding. The quotes from the interviews are constructed as continuous stories or shorter or longer extracts as micro-stories not always

with the correct use of grammar and words as this after all represents an oral story and the wording of the interviewees.

Care has been taken to reduce bias in constructing the topics. The researcher had to construct topics carefully so as to ensure that his previous knowledge and experience of a phenomenon or topic raised by an interviewee did not unduly influence the analysis. However, if his previous experience helps elucidate an area that will be acknowledged and discussed.

When signs like (...3) are inserted in the quotes, it indicates that the person speaking has paused, in this case for approximately three seconds, searching for words or restarting his narrations (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009). These signs are only occasionally inserted when there are longer pauses. However, timings are approximate, as a clock was not used, and represent the delay noted by the researcher when transcriptions were made and partly listened to afterwards. When the phrase “organisation” is used, this refers to a business organisation. Each topic is introduced and then substantiated by the interviewees’ narrations and then summarised.

4.1.2 Representation of the narrations – delimitations

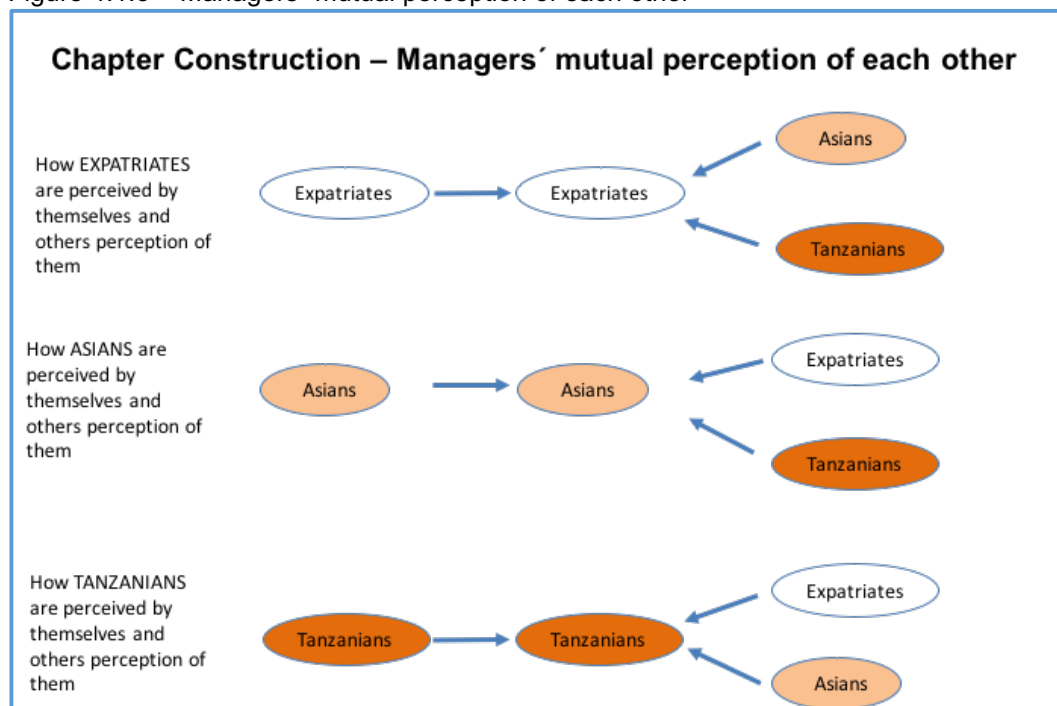
It is not possible to include all topics from the interviews; thus a selection is presented. The selection criteria are whether the topic elucidates and supports the criteria of the study, and is rich, multi-layered and represents new meanings and dimensions that can be reflected upon and theorised. The richest and most diverse narrations are favoured. Some citations are limited due to the number of interviewees commenting on the issues and

the fact that the willingness to answer was restrained. Such restraint will be commented on.

4.1.3 Chapter construction – Managers' mutual perception of each other.

The construction of this chapter is illustrated in figure 4.2. The figure illustrates how each category of people view the other and how every category views the other categories.

Figure 4.1.3 – Managers' mutual perception of each other



Chapter 4 is organised into three different sections: expatriates, Asians and Tanzanians. There is no ranking involved, just a practical way of presenting the findings. The reason for this structure is relevant to the communication within a management group and reveals the basis for the composition of a management group and indicates what may fit better together. People are individuals with diverse characteristics and

generalisations are dangerous and doubtful. However, when perceptions are leaning in one particular direction, this should cause specific attention not necessarily excluding a staff category from the management group.

4.2 WHO ARE THE EXPATRIATES

The expatriates will be discussed and captured in an advance summary of section 4.2 as this is the group of people that are closely linked to the previous colonial masters, generally referred to as white people from Europe (see section 4.2.4). However, though this is changing, it is still necessary to be aware of the persisting perception or discourse of colonialism to fully comprehend the analysis. The following sections from 4.3 to 4.5 will be captured in section 4.6 `Summarising the individual group's stories pages 139 to 144 within which a brief résumé of the expatriates are repeated at the beginning to produce a complete picture to facilitate comprehension.

4.2.1 The traditional expatriate is still present

The concept of an expatriate is discussed in some detail, as it is complex.

The word expatriate means an expert working abroad usually on a voluntary basis (Furnham 1997). Before the independence of African national states, the expatriates represented the colonisers. In the 1960s, immediately after independence from the colonial powers, an expatriate was in principle a white man from a Northern European country. Then, the indigenisation process commenced as locals took over industry and expatriates were replaced by indigenous representatives (Rood 1976).

Kevin confirms expatriates' position in an organisation:

"... So they seem to be in a much higher sort of positions" (Kevin, African Expatriate).

It is noteworthy that Kevin, even though he is in a top position himself, as an African expatriate by using "they" to refer to an expatriate, seems to maintain a perception of himself as a non-expatriate. This illustrates the force of the embedded macro-narrative or discourse of expatriates as white people in top management.

Stan explains how the expatriates' position used to be and how he perceives it to be today:

"Traditionally, the expatriate fills a role, which is at a higher level ..." (Stan, European expatriate).

Sidhu refers to the "higher level" of the expatriates and what positions they fill:

"They are most technical people, mostly technical and mostly related to higher executive positions, executives and higher finance and all that ..." (Sidhu, Asian).

Expatriates in management are perceived as top managers or in key skilled positions.

4.2.2 New expatriates – Chinese, white South Africans and black Africans

Interview participants reported that South African and Chinese expatriates are entering Tanzania in a range of capacities. Their perception is that some are taking up lower-level positions that can be filled by Tanzanians.

The Tanzanian Asians have been doing this for a long time, and Africans from other African countries have also entered the scene.

This storying of migrants taking the jobs of locals is seen also in Stan's account of how white South Africans are like the Chinese entering work on many levels:

" ... But of course the latest influx is the Chinese. There are huge amounts of Chinese here. And the Chinese are, they are taking a, they are taking a very dangerous role, because they are, in some parts they are even replacing the local African trader ..." (Stan, European expatriate).

His perception is that some South Africans are also taking jobs from indigenous Tanzanians.

" ... With these low class South Africans and especially the Chinese they are coming in and they are taking positions which can be found locally ..." (Stan, European expatriate).

Kevin's construction is also of an influx of South Africans and Chinese:

" ... The South Africans I have seen that there is, there is a whole class of South Africans. I have seen them in security; I have seen them in so many different fields. ... But of course more recently, cause Tanzania is now full of Chinese people as well ..." (Kevin, African expatriate)

In other words, the plotline concerns how these managers understand current organisational realities; expatriate is no longer an exclusive word to describe the upper management, although there is a subtle indication that people continue to think of expatriates as top managers and so they have a low regard for those who are newly arrived.

The increasing visibility of African expatriates is confirmed by the fact that Kevin is an African and is working on an expatriate working quota.

The arrival of African expatriates is also known from personal experience working for a large multinational corporation in Tanzania and other African countries.

4.2.3 Internal management conflicts emerging – remuneration issues

Value is attributed to people – some are worth more than others. This is evident in the choice of non-European expatriates as they are usually paid less, which represents a potential conflict in many management groups.

Grace is airing her frustration over this fact:

“... To feel involved, to feel appreciated and to feel that he is being paid for his competence, his education and skills, not because of his colour. Because there are companies where the disparity between the salaries of an expatriate and the salaries of the African is quite staggering” (Grace, indigenous Tanzanian).

Grace alone mentions the salary discrimination. It is likely not mentioned by others because of its sensitivity. For Grace, as a local manager, there is opportunism among Western owners. For Asians and Western expatriates, the story is different – they are not willing to accept that they are taking advantage of Tanzanians and other nationalities. To avoid conflict, the Western expatriate salaries are frequently hidden inside a lump “management fee” (field notes from own work experience). This point consequently seems to represent a silenced or suppressed issue. It is an aspect of the Orientalist discourse: Europeans are valued more than non-Europeans.

4.2.4 Summaries of ‘expatriates’

As managing directors and technical and financial directors, expatriates used to represent white Europeans in higher management positions. This has changed, but common perceptions of them remain. The new expatriates are taking up lower-level positions traditionally held by local people and this may cause in future societal unrest (Alden, 2007). Some of the lower ranked migrants may not be regarded as expatriates by expatriates or Tanzanians, but this has not been studied. The remuneration difference between white expatriates and local Africans as well as other expatriates, if exposed, is likely to cause dissatisfaction leading to friction between managers in management groups. It is a sensitive issue not mentioned by any of the white expatriates and possibly linked to their Orientalist view, reflecting white management’s opportunism and perceived superiority.

4.3 HOW EXPATRIATES PERCEIVE THEMSELVES AND HOW THEY ARE PERCEIVED BY OTHERS

The perceptions of the three ethnic groups are discussed below.

4.3.1 Expatriates’ perceptions of themselves

When the expatriates were asked how they perceived themselves, they responded by discussing how they perceived others, and, in particular, South Africans.

Bob pointed to how expatriates of different ethnicities respond to the local environment:

“ ... Strangely the North (...3), expatriates sometimes fits into this particular part of Africa more easily than their brothers from the Southern hemisphere who really do find some initial cultural shock ...” (Bob, European expatriate).

For Bob, the cultural shock experienced by people from southern Africa is explained by the colonial experience of the Tanzanians and how they developed their own independence. Such experience may be quite different from how an Afrikaner (white South African of Dutch origin) has experienced the behaviour of his own country's indigenous population:

“ ... I think the thing that white South Africans, white Zimbabweans didn't easily comes to terms with, cause, the degree of empowerment, and degree of empowerment and self-confidence of the indigenous African population in countries that have not experienced white domination ...” (Bob, European expatriate)

Stan adds another thread to this story of South Africans whom he sees as dominant in his expatriate community in the urban area of Dar es Salaam:

“ ... The biggest influence in the expatriate community is the South African and [of] the South African, there is two types. There is the one type there is intellectual, educated, these people can travel anywhere, they come here because they have skills they can pass on to the community. Then you have the other type, that are escaping from the, the problems they have in South Africa so they are, they are basically a, poor, poor lot ... ” (Stan, European expatriate).

Lars counters Stan's view that the most educated are exempted from biased behaviour as his experience is only of upper-level South Africans given the area in which he lives and works:

“ ... The new expats who, that come in with, with a different outlook. Who think they're 'Mr. Big' ... I don't think they've changed I think it's just the way they are, they've got to sometimes remember that, they're a visitor. They forget they're a visitor in someone else's country regardless of how that country is functioning. I would say generally, South Africans have had that sort of attitude. Whether

that's, that's a common attitude which comes with them” (Lars, European expatriate).

From perspective the South Africans may still be influenced by Apartheid discourse.

Bob as an expatriate from Northern Europe says that Tanzanians treated him as just another person.

“ ... My own experience when I came to Tanzania was that black Africans barely noticed that they were working with a white man ...”
(Bob, European expatriate).

At this point, Bob seems to suggest a cultural levelling and takes a hybrid Orientalist position, supporting his and Lars’ claim that it is South Africans who face a cultural challenge. However, he puts himself in the position of someone who does not share South Africans’ racist views. It may be that both men unconsciously suppress their real views of Tanzanians; as they are leaders and do not feel threatened, this allows them to be tolerant.

4.3.2 Asians’ perceptions of expatriates

As earlier mentioned, Indians in Tanzania are classed as Asians in this study. They are well represented on all levels of business life and are frequently employed in Western organisations.

Sidhu, who was born in Tanzania, explains how he perceives Western expatriates:

“ ... I think they are very, very good, they bring us very good input, to input Tanzanian business people, input the Tanzanian business ...”,
(Sidhu, Asian).

He remarks that expatriates take their work seriously:

“... if they come here they are very serious about their job because if they come from long way away, in a new country they cannot play around with their jobs ...” (Sidhu, Asian).

The reason why he considers the work of expatriates valuable is elaborated when he compares them to the local labour force:

“ ... Most of the time the expatriates cost more than a local person that we can get ... Because they bring a lot of expertise, which, I mean which we don't have here ...” (Sidhu, Asian).

Sidhu explains why expatriates reside in Tanzania:

“ ... But we cannot get the local person that is the reason why we find a lot of expatriates come and with special skills ...” (Sidhu, Asian).

Sidhu sums up his impression of expatriates:

“ ... They are quite ok, I mean there is no problem with expatriates ...” (Sidhu, Asian).

Toor addresses another dimension, probably indirectly, though denying so, when comparing the western expatriates with the local people:

“ ... I work with British expatriates; I worked along with American, South Africans, Swiss. We find it very easy to work with them. ... I am not comparing with anybody else, but any other cultures, but obviously, communication is easier ...” (Toor, Asian).

Eventually, Toor compares expatriates with Tanzanians, declaring that the expatriates are fair in their behavior, and implicitly suggesting that the Tanzanians are not.

“ ... And the understanding is there and there is always fairness in whatever goes on ...” (Toor, Asian).

Pandit refers to the superiority of the Western World, i.e. the Orientalist viewpoint, and clearly feels that local people need improving:

“ ... I strongly believe that no doubt the Western world is ahead in, in

many respects and it is also many things from the Western people which could be brought in to improve the local people ...” (Pandit, Asian).

Pandit views himself as a source of knowledge as a result of his multicultural business from which expatriates can also learn:

“ ... We [his organisation] are different culture, but with multi culture, even the Western people learn what is also here in Tanzania, so to me it is healthy across the board ... What I believe, we as a multicultural company and every culture has got its own input ...” (Pandit, Asian).

Pandit’s organisation has something to contribute even to the expatriates.

This is likely a combination of a modern view, for example, Freire's philosophy of mutual learning, and his own urge to represent knowledge and be closely linked to the desired image of the expatriate (Freire, 1970).

Pandit works on a regular basis with expatriate partners and managers.

4.3.3 Tanzanians' perception of expatriates

Tanzanians usually hold a variety of management positions including decision makers in the management group. The indigenisation laws protect their positions.

Godwin sees expatriates as ordinary, hardworking and committed, and not supercilious:

”... when I see a white expatriate working in Tanzania for example, what I don’t see he is doing a miracle or he is doing something that maybe a local cannot do ... But what I see more is his attitude towards his work, his commitment ... it is the hard work ...” (Godwin, indigenous Tanzanian).

Godwin notices one particular difference, achieving goals, otherwise he does not believe that the expatriate does anything which a local cannot

perform. His comment “doing a miracle” may represent his correction of or protest against the embedded superiority attributed to the expatriate as previously noted (chapter 4.2.1). Godwin is a rich, successful entrepreneur and may perceive that he is equal or superior to most expatriates he meets:

“ ... I would say his desire to accomplish the set goals, this is what I see ...” (Godwin, indigenous Tanzanian).

Does Godwin now claim that Tanzanians do not set goals? This is interesting as Beugré et al (2001:541) mention this as a necessity since Africans do not appear focused on setting company goals, rather their own.

Denis thinks that white expatriates should know Tanzanian culture and the local cultural dynamics and suggests his own knowledge is superior:

“ ... [His former boss] would read something, let say about emotional intelligence (..3), after reading that thing he would like to find a cliché or four and cream it, so that when he, she makes the speech, she refers to that cliché. For me this does not work, the most important thing is to grasp the learning in the contemporary management theories” (Denis, indigenous Tanzanian).

Obviously, Denis wants more than citations. He may want reference to the theory. This appears as an example of critiquing his superior and demanding that his own reasoning has validity. The change of pronoun may indicate that he finds it easier to critique a woman than a man and perhaps reveals an exogenous attitude. However, what does Denis want? What does he miss?

“... And now this is what is missing, so expatriates will come, very rich knowledge. But if they do not find the lock and key strategy in our local culture, the operating environment; if they don't understand these dynamics, then all these rich management theories will not work here ...” (Denis, indigenous Tanzanian).

Denis is obviously not missing the richness of the theories, but the theories related to the local dynamics, the bridge between theory and local practice. He claims that he is able to define the knowledge and behaviour necessary to succeed in business. This may confirm that he claims superior knowledge.

Juma seems to support an independent and perhaps defiant way of thinking though he appears indoctrinated by Orientalist ideas:

“... So any expatriate I think him is a human being coming from another area which is more developed ... Europeans they are open, they are ready to help and also for them, they are ready also for learn from the locals ...” (Juma, indigenous Tanzanian).

Like Godwin, Juma views the expatriate as a man coming from a more developed area, but he is not a superior person. His remark, “the more developed area”, seems natural, as he is likely to compare his own environment to modern, industrialised European societies. Juma’s environment has scattered industrial developments situated in typical farmland, not even clustered in industrial parks as one would find in similar European environments. He appears to praise the expatriates for their willingness to learn from locals.

Juma sees a difference in expatriates:

“... Actually I view expatriates as a people which, advance knowledge, in such a way they are coming here to transfer that knowledge to the needed people, and the needed people we are [the] ones, the Africans or the local ...” (Juma, indigenous Tanzanian).

At this point, Juma appears indoctrinated by Orientalism referring to expatriates as having supreme knowledge, which in Tanzania they are transferring to those Africans who need it. Such reasoning represented the

prime defence of colonial powers, bringing with them the 'book' and the language of knowledge to enlighten 'primitive' natives. Juma seems to perceive that Tanzanians are on a lower level than expatriates. This may also be implicit in his remark that the expatriate is willing to learn from the local as it is immediately modified by his remark that the Tanzanian needs to learn from the expatriate.

Hitherto the men have made their opinions known. Would women have different perspectives? Grace is open about her views on expatriates:

"... What I thought was very interesting, the partnership with the Danish people is that they came, they asked us what would like us to do together ..." (Grace, indigenous Tanzanian).

The approach of the Danes was to show respect to local people and elicit her opinion rather than copying the behaviour of other expatriates:

"... I found that most refreshing because with other partners you find that they come with pre-conceived ideas that Grace now do A, B, C, D and then you will get there ..." (Grace, indigenous Tanzanian).

Grace considers expatriates as having pre-conceived ideas about local people. She praises the humble approach of the Danes, who asked her for advice and sought a business partnership. She seems to accept the Danes as partners, whereas other partners are positioned as the alien "Other". Grace's other partners are from the World Bank, most likely Americans and frequently white people.

Ema has not worked with expatriates, and only met them in boardrooms. As she recalls:

"... so my experience actually working with, the foreign companies, or foreign people has always been, not in the company as such, but in boardrooms ..." (Ema, indigenous Tanzanian).

Then, Ema introduces the interesting concept of being “exposed”:

“I was, actually was exposed to, meeting foreigners and I found it was nothing wrong, as long as we, the issue we were talking about in these places where I met them, I understood them, they, you know ...” (Ema, indigenous Tanzanian).

Ema’s use of the word “exposed” is intriguing as it actually suggests being “unprotected” or without cover. Is it out of respect or fearfulness and that only closer acquaintance with expatriates would create rapport? It seems reciprocal in nature as she continues:

“... so it was not, it was (not) very difficult for them and because of the explaining to you, because the exposure, long time exposure ...” (Ema, indigenous Tanzanian).

It may be that Ema distances herself somewhat from the expatriate “Other”, but she has become accustomed to them. Exposure seems to represent the facilitator, making it possible for Ema to relate to the expatriates in a way that they also understand her. Is she making herself an equal? Or is she just adapting and using a tool that enables her to perform with the exotic Other, the expatriate?

Edina introduces other aspects of working with expatriates:

“...Most of the time they [expatriates] are friendly, first of all, cause I think because they need to know people that they are working with first. It has been easy for them to interact and work with them. ...” (Edina, indigenous Tanzanian).

Edina describes a rather harmonious relationship partly stemming from the fact that expatriates regard her as the knowledge keeper. However, other expatriates, non-Europeans, act differently:

“... South Africa, those ones are trying to be like Africans though to some extent, they are not, especially if, I am talking about the white ones. When they come and they need to ask questions, you could

feel the person concentrate to the white person, than you, the black ...” (Edina, indigenous Tanzanian).

White South Africans have ancestors who lived hundreds of years in South Africa. The Boer, Jan van Riebeeck, landed in South Africa in 1648 with his ship. His enthusiastic descriptions led to what is called the ‘large exodus’ from Holland (Sterling 1963). People with such a long history may feel they have a right to call themselves Africans and they actually do, they are “Afrikaners”. However, this is not enough for Edina and some Tanzanians are sceptical. Perhaps the rejection of the term “Afrikaner” by Tanzanians implies that a white man cannot be an African. In their view an African is a black man.

Edina is not very impressed by the South Africans’ behaviour and explains why:

“ ... I do experience because when even they feel like want to give assistance, but the person doesn’t concentrate with you ...” (Edina, indigenous Tanzanian).

There are three, partly interrelated, points of interest in what Edina has to say about South Africans: the importance of focus on the other person when communicating, the lack of respect she felt and the Afrikaners’ attitude and lack of attention when approaching her. It is obvious the feeling when a person clearly does not find you sufficiently interesting to hold his attention even when he assists you. This arrogance and levelling down of another person fits well the Orientalist construct of Africans. They are people of lesser value, who are not worth the South African’s valuable time. Ema seems to perceive that the Afrikaner is still an Apartheid racist. When working in Tanzania, he exposes his racist views. This may explain

why she believes that an Afrikaner cannot be an African. It could be more linked to attitude and behaviour than to skin colour or pigmentation. Edina may have accepted Afrikaners if they behaved differently like Grace accepted the behaviour of the Danes. They are both constructing stories about the “Other” based on their perception of the other’s behaviour.

4.4 HOW ASIANS PERCEIVE THEMSELVES AND HOW THEY ARE PERCEIVED BY OTHERS

Asians are, as mentioned earlier, on all levels of society and some can trace their ancestry back several generations. In Tanzania, the first major influx of Indian Asians started with the Gujarati traders in the nineteenth century. According to “The International Indian”, there are around 40 000 Asians in Tanzania, a decline from 150 000 in earlier times (Puri 2013). The Indian Asian community represents less than 0,1 per cent of the population. They are noticeable in trade and industry and as a close-knit community, they are, proportionate to the size of their population, notably visible.

4.4.1 Asians’ perceptions of themselves

The Asians somehow avoided the question in the interviews, but answers are found in their narrations. Sidhu explains how he perceives people with whom he shares a cultural and ethnic heritage:

“... There are very few of us, the Asian Tanzanians there are few of us. We are generally, we are quite better off than the ... We can say most of the Asians, most of the Indians, has slightly better off than the majority of the Tanzanians ...” (Sidhu, Asian).

Eventually, this is a clear indication of how an Asian views himself as an “Asian Tanzanian”. Sidhu also considers himself better off economically than the majority of Tanzanians.

Toor favours working with people who are culturally and ethnically similar to himself as he finds communication easier:

“... Again communication is there, you see this is the advantage ... But it is not, not a problem working with other Asians. And one time I had five to six Goans working coming in, I find them the most honest people around ... Unfortunately, a lot of them are moving in a way, emigrating, or moving away. Hoping for better prospects or just, because one family member emigrates, so they follow them or something ...” (Toor, Asian).

Goans come from the state of Goa in India. At this point, Toor favours and shows affinity with his own ethnic group.

Pandit, another experienced Asian, presents an interesting autobiographic account when comparing himself as an Asian Tanzanian with an expatriate Indian:

“... a person like me, and more than, more than [Indian] expatriates in East-Africa, we have a British influence. I mean, we are, I wouldn't say we are 100 % Westernized, but we are, we are more inclined to the Western world, opposed to an Indian who is born and brought up in India and who has come as an expatriate to work in this part of the world ...” (Pandit, Asian).

Pandit seems to distance himself from being labeled as Asian. He identifies himself more as Western, even British. He seems to take a position of supremacy.

4.4.2 Expatriates' perceptions of Asians

For expatriates Asians are visible in business and may be perceived as coming from a larger population than the figures cited above suggest. Bob initially alludes to the Indian as an expatriate, and then as an East African Asian:

“...The Indian expatriate is fondly referred to as a rocket and he is normally, normally lives up to his reputation for the first couple of years. In Africa he moves like a rocket, works like a rocket but after the third or fourth year, he becomes, he becomes a lot more relaxed and he starts to look East African Indian and by the end of five years, he is more or less become a local East African Indian, so we have East African Indians and we have Indian Indians” (Bob, European expatriate).

Compare Bob's account with Pandit's; while Pandit regards Tanzanian Asians as superior to Indian Indians, Bob regards Tanzanian Asians as less hard working than Indian Indians. Bob's brief but complex story is about personal change taking place over time as a result of exposure to the local environment. The expression “as a rocket” means that Indian expatriates begin working eagerly, but after a while, they calm down.

Lars describes the identity of Asians and their behaviour in the local environment:

“... I mean, I have good, some good Indian friends who were British, you know because they culturally, they, they tend to stick together ... It's, it's just that there's a few that break out, but they're, they're individuals that have decided to follow the English culture rather than their native culture ...” (Lars, European Expatriate).

Lars contributes to the growing story of complex cultural identity of Asian Tanzanians. These people break out of their indigenous groups and

become acculturated into another group; otherwise, they form as the below micro story indicates:

“Indians or Asians, in a small community. So if there's a smaller community so like [this one] for example, those guys will mix, because there's isn't, it's such limited [community]” (Lars, European expatriate).

In smaller communities they mix with both Tanzanians and expatriates.

Stan, an experienced European expatriate, has a different understanding of Asians and constructs a story of someone who is entrepreneurial and clever, but of low ethics:

“... They brought entrepreneurial spirit at the expense of (...3) lack of, you know, sticking to the laws ... The worst of their kind have allowed, have influenced the Africans ... when I explain Africa, we have here it's if, if you are a good person then you can be good person here, if you are a bad person, you can be the worse you ever want and no one will, no one will stop you. And that is really what Africa is about. It is a blank sheet ...” (Stan, European expatriate).

Stan constructs a story of Indians as contaminators of Africans through their behaviour; they are entrepreneurial but ‘freewheeling’ and do not respect local laws. Africa is clean, a blank sheet and innocent. However, the Asians spoilt it and Africans copied their behaviour.

4.4.3 Tanzanians’ perceptions of Asians

Even though the population of Indians is small, they are, as earlier mentioned, very visible in organisations and particularly in trade.

Tanzanians in general view them with scepticism. Godwin remarks:

“... Maybe many people, they cannot, hire an European expatriate, because they are more expensive, ok, of course they go for, yah, a little less, so then ok, people go to India ...” (Godwin, indigenous Tanzanian)

In Godwin's story, as an indigenous Tanzanian, the Indian expatriate workforce is of lesser value than European expatriates:

"... And some of the Asian community who is here of course, for them an Indian expatriate speaks the same language. It makes a lot of other, other things easier ..." (Godwin, indigenous Tanzanian).

Obviously, an Indian expatriate will have a local community to relate to and that facilitates his employment. On the other hand:

"... they don't know the culture, they know the Indian culture, they know the Indian culture, and the attitudes ..." (Godwin, indigenous Tanzanian).

The Tanzanian Asian seems to represent more opportunity to Godwin than the Indian expatriate.

"... The Asian, ok, of course, ok, they are more similar to Tanzanian, because they are born here, they speak the language [Swahili], they know the local culture, a little bit more, yah, so, a little bit different from expatriate coming from India" (Godwin, indigenous Tanzanian).

Once again, Asians, despite their local roots, are viewed as different to indigenous Tanzanians. They know the culture, but to a limited extent.

"... Yes, some of them they go very well, yah, ok, some of them they have some small attitudes, which I do understand ... Indigenous, ok, born here, ok, yah, they live here, they do business here, yah, and, ok, this is local Asians, ..." (Godwin, indigenous Tanzanians).

Godwin positions Asians as the "Other". They are born in Tanzania, they do business there, they are local Asians, but they are neither Tanzanians nor Africans. Godwin's mention of "small attitudes" could refer to bias, as at that point he gestures with his hands to suggest dubious behaviour among Asians.

Denis has had experience of working closely with Asians:

“... Their literacy level is very high, they read a lot, and they read the Western education a lot. They don’t change their accents, they don’t change their Indian way of thinking ...” (Denis, indigenous Tanzanian).

Denis begins his construction with favourable remarks, but then expresses what may be perceived as criticism. Suspicious of the attitude of Asians, he seems to view them as an exotic Other. Denis points towards their behaviour:

“... Now what I visualise Indians is one thing is that I have never understood, is their closed, what do I call, they [are] in a certain closed room, that if you want to break in and mix with them you never manage to do that ... There is a certain barrier they have created, a cultural barrier ... Where, if they are two they will speak their language, (...7), and this to me sounds very fishy, that there is something which are not transparent here ...” (Denis, indigenous Tanzanian).

In this account, the Indians or Asians have created a cultural barrier between themselves and Tanzanians. They are seen to isolate themselves and to speak ‘above the head’ of Tanzanians by using their own language. Thus, they create uncertainty and suspicion about their behaviour:

“... My experience of working for Indians and working with Indians, I have empirical evidence for that, that they do not succumb hundred per cent to the corporate objectives or corporate goals ... However, much they would try to deliver to the corporate objectives ...but they have their side objectives, which they also want to fulfil. Sorry to generalise. But majority of those people whom I have worked with quite likely happens to be like that ...”, (Denis, indigenous Tanzanian).

The above narration creates a picture of an opportunistic Asian employee or manager, who exploits his position in the company. He has his own agenda and takes advantage of his position; similar accusations are levelled by Indians against Africans, as Grace, an indigenous Tanzanian,

narrates below. This construct appears to represent a reflection on how the colonial powers positioned the 'exotic Other' (Denzin and Lincoln 2005).

Juma regularly hires Asians/Indians to do jobs:

"... Indians they know, they have got the knowledge, but they are manipulative, they want to manipulate you ... They [Europeans] want to help you mentally to think bigger, a bigger picture, to be able to think out of the box. But Indians they want, they just want you to think within the box, not out of the box ..." (Juma, indigenous Tanzanian).

In this micro story we see that Occidentalism may inform the account, and that both Denis and Juma have a common perception of Asians.

Their use of the word 'Indians' is interesting as in their working environment there are only Asians. Is this an approach that makes it easier for him to critique Indians rather than Asians since Indians are not part of his working environment? He is perceived to critique Asians and make use of the label 'Indians' as a replacement to hide his critique of Asians. Juma compares 'Indian' behaviour with that of the Europeans, and whilst Europeans want to make locals more enlightened (the superiority of the European), Indians want to keep them dependent upon others (the inferiority of the non-European). Juma mentions, as the only narrator, the Arabs, which may strengthen what appears to be his negative view of Indians or perhaps in his mind 'Asians':

"... Arabs they are not there to help you. They are there to grab from you, even the little you have, they just want it to make you sort of a slave, just to use you as a slave, they are not there to help you, not at all ... the mentality is the same. Whether they [Arabs and Asians] are here locally or they are born here or whether they are coming from India, but they are, they are ... their philosophy, or their thinking is exactly as I explained to you ..." (Juma, indigenous Tanzanian).

This appears to be more or less a complete story of a people who do not want to assist, but to exploit locals, even subjugate them. Juma's reference to the slave trade is an obvious link to the past, a parallel to colonialism, but now linked to the Arab era going back hundreds of years (Simensen, 2009). However, in a curious twist, the European is excluded from such criticism.

Grace, as we noticed earlier, comments on how she thinks others view Tanzanians. She continues her narrative below by putting words into Asians' mouths:

"... They [Asians] tend to favour themselves. They call them expatriates who are really not expatriates except that they are there to ensure that these African does not steal. 'The African is a thief, the African is lazy, the African can't know work until he is supervised to the foremen' and so on, so these kind reference to the ... of friction between the management that is run by a white, a white man and that is run by Asian ..." (Grace, indigenous Tanzanian).

The above quote presents a mix of representations: reference to Asians as a particular group favouring themselves, elements fitting the narratives of exploitation and typical elements from the Orientalist discourse that the African is a thief, lazy and incapable of working without supervision, although now the Orientalist is Asian rather than European. A new element is added – friction. Grace constructs a story that the Asians cause friction between white and Asian management.

Grace continues to reflect on her opinions and wants to explain:

"... they are maybe, what we observe is like a, window dressing if you will. To be seen that they are also employing some Africans. But to give them the responsibility, the authority that one need in the position, that doesn't come, doesn't come out very well ..." (Grace, indigenous Tanzanian).

Grace's perception is that Asians are window dressing and disguising their biased behaviour, which contributes to the construction of an opportunistic group of people who do not want to allocate any authority to indigenous Tanzanians.

Edina has worked with Asians and Indians and further comments on Asian behaviour:

"If an Indian comes and talks to you, there are some benefits out of it [for him] ... most of the time they regard us inferior than the whites, they say the British or the Europeans most of the time. They feel those ones are superior than the locals ..." (Edina, indigenous Tanzanian).

Edina contributes to the complex account of racial hierarchies: Asians rank themselves higher than Tanzanians and implicitly lower than Europeans.

Do Asians implicitly favour the British and the Europeans as it appears that they use them as a yardstick to measure superiority? After all, they do show affinity with this group of people and their countries and want to hold their passports as mentioned in other stories:

"... they feel that you [Tanzanians] know less than the whites and if they come to you and talk to you, you must have something extra. Extra in which sense, maybe in the office, maybe you are a bit superior, you are maybe a supervisor and Indian is in a lower level ..." (Edina, indigenous Tanzanian).

Tanzanians seem to despise Asians. Edina now indicates the same attitude as Juma's, that the Asians want to exploit the indigenous Tanzanians.

Edina has experience with Indian employees:

"If I am a supervisor and I have two Indians reporting me. They don't feel comfortable. But they would find their own way to get on top of you rather than having report to me ... And most of the time they would find their own way to get on top of you and they may be reporting to a white person ..." (Edina, indigenous Tanzanian).

Edina returns to the point made by Grace regarding the distrust Tanzanians feel towards Asians, and she elaborates:

“ ... they do hide, they do not talk each other openly, they talk at your back so to say. And reports some bad things at your back ... they will be much comfortable talking (..2) evil about you to the boss” (Edina indigenous Tanzanian).

This is in agreement with Denis’ (indigenous Tanzanian) view. In short, Edina describe “an intrigue maker”, someone who does not accept the superiority of a Tanzanian and who is a despised other. Edina continues her narration:

“... Indians look for what benefits them rather than the majority ... so they would do anything, just to get you down and make them up so most of the time they are looking for what they can benefit out of that, whether, in a good way or in a wrong way ... I’ve heard, I heard a story that the corruptions, most of the corrupt people are Indians in this world, and [greediness] to some of them. They don’t like to follow the rules and procedures ...” (Edina, indigenous Tanzanian).

Thus, both Stan, a European expatriate, and Edina, a Tanzanian, make links between Asians and corruption in Tanzanian society. Her narration paints a picture of a particular group outside the indigenous Tanzanian community who do not observe the codes of society in which they live. There is a strong feeling of distrust in her narration and she continues to elaborate on Asian behaviour in society:

“... If you are going into a queue, even in a hospital, they would seek to skip you and bribe may the doctor or whoever so that they can be given first priority than you ... And even if, when you go to a public place, when you are going to get a, a social service, if it’s one offered by Indian and you are there in a queue may be in a place, and then between you there is an Indian, that Indian would look first for the fellow Indian rather than the majority ...” (Edina, indigenous Tanzanian).

This perspective constructs the image of a group of people who do not integrate fully in society. They are close-knit and take care of themselves as a group. Their behaviour, the way they exclude others is opposed to local community oriented behaviour, the kinship system. Edina's concluding remark underlines the challenges for Asians in Tanzanian management positions, both internally in the management group and externally, versus Tanzanian stakeholders:

"I do not want to report [to] an Indian boss" (Edina, indigenous Tanzanian).

An aspect of how Asians build their strength in society is narrated by Edina:

"They do some, each and every person is supposed to contribute ... Committee meetings in the Mosques or the Churches, the areas where they worship ... You are supposed to contribute to the common pool, some sort of a pool, of the money, you all contribute ..." (Edina, indigenous Tanzanian).

Raising funds is of course an essential part of building strength for a group:

"When you want to start a business or you want to build something ... An committee decide: 'we give him a loan, some sort of a loan, but of very low interest', because the person is part of that fund that has been put together ... When you start earning profit that's when you are going to, start returning that loan" (Edina, indigenous Tanzanians).

Edina's account adds to our understanding of how indigenous Tanzanians view Asians as the other. Here, they are seen as colluding so as to have an unfair advantage over other business people, although, of course, nothing would prevent Tanzanians from doing the same thing.

4.5 HOW TANZANIANS PERCEIVE THEMSELVES AND HOW THEY ARE PERCEIVED BY OTHERS

4.5.1 Tanzanians' perceptions of themselves

Seventy-six per cent of the Tanzanian population is still rural. The cities are dynamic and developing fast, in particular influenced by the economic expectations of the recent large gas and oil findings mainly in the southern part of Tanzania, (Statoil News 2014).

Juma, when asked directly about how he perceives his own people responds quickly:

“My own people? How do I evaluate them? Tanzanians are very friendly, they are very generous, and they are keen to learn, but when you involve them, otherwise they will run away from you, they will be shy from you. But once you show them that if you are trying to help them too, but if you don’t show that they will shy away from you and they are not giving you support ...” (Juma, indigenous Tanzanian).

Note how Juma focuses on the need for respect and involvement.

Implicitly, the need to know the local culture is underlined, but also he focuses on a ‘you’ who has superior knowledge that can be taught to Tanzanians. That is, he places Tanzanians in an inferior position.

Godwin’s narrative includes a more direct criticism, this time of the Tanzanian manager. He compares the Tanzanian manager unfavourably with his white expatriate (the ‘cultural difference’) to illustrate his opinion:

“... when it comes to management I think also there is a sort of a cultural, cultural difference ... some of them is because of the education background, yah, and some of them, ok, he is ok with the left hand, but not with the other ... with the local staff, ok, what I had experienced, ok, you don’t get it done 100 per cent, yeah, you don’t reach the percentage you like to achieve ... yeah, because you might have the, the oxygen and the fuel and conducive atmosphere, but the spark is not there ...” (Godwin, indigenous Tanzanian).

The lack of 'spark' suggests that all the elements are there but somehow they do not function. It is perhaps a comparison with himself, a person who is entrepreneurial and full of vitality. He seems to look down upon his own kind.

Ema adds another dimension, lack of creativity:

"Tanzanians have always remained in Tanzania. A few venture out so if you come with as new idea, ... take some time for them to accept it immediately ..." (Ema, indigenous Tanzanian).

Lack of thinking along new lines made it difficult for her to start up her business:

"... And similarly when it comes to business like myself here, when I started the business first of all, for an African to dear, to get into industry because that was not something that was not there. The industries were only run by Asians or Europeans or the government or the Arabs" (Ema, indigenous Tanzanian).

Ema sees herself as thinking outside the rigid frame of mind of other Tanzanians. She is different from them. Asians and Europeans ran industries. She is likely one of the Tanzanian entrepreneurs, a group talked about with respect among European expatriates.

4.5.2 Expatriates' perceptions of Tanzanians

Addressing how a Western expatriate perceives "locals" may reveal postcolonial attitudes and biased views. However, people are wary and try to avoid revealing their prejudices. Only a closer examination of their stories reveals concealed attitudes. Some of the Europeans narrating have local background knowledge and may be particularly familiar with the local

culture. However, this cannot be described in more detail without disclosing their identities.

Stan introduces an intriguing viewpoint:

“... They [Tanzanians] are polite people, I mean, as you know, in general they are polite. They are hugely entrepreneurial, the problem is they, they doesn’t apply entrepreneurial skills on or channel the right direction ... Tanzanians for every reason have reputation of being able to develop some of the most elaborate, most cleverest scams which leave the question of why such energy could not be channelled in favour of their organisation ... ” (Stan, European expatriate).

Stan articulates a point of view which many expatriates contemplate. It is not a new point; it has been “listened in on” over the last 45 years in many countries, in particular Nigeria. It rejects the postcolonial negativism of ‘stupid Africans’. However, the praise that is given is outweighed by criticism – Tanzanians may be ‘hugely entrepreneurial’, but they devote all their energies to the wrong activities, implicitly biased behaviour, when they work in Western organisations.

Expats live in their ‘bubbles’ within the African community, but not as part of the African collectiveness. Note how Bob derides the local culture, seeing in its differences from Western managerial culture only weakness:

“... Tanzanian managers, fundamental weakness is, is his inherited social cultural of, it’s not in the culture of Tanzanians to be individual leaders. They want to be part of the collective decision. They look for safety in numbers. ... They have been brought up in society that is run by committee it’s a part of their social heritage. It stems from the days of socialism and to this day it remains a parcel, part and parcel of their, of their psyche ... it’s not in the culture of Tanzanians to be individual leaders ... ” (Bob, European expatriate).

Bob reveals his ignorance of local culture. Decision consensus and collectiveness are part of the local kinship. Bob combined this traditional

pattern of behaviour with the influence of the modern Ujamaa experiment that is perhaps more familiar to him, because it was based on socialist principles. However, there are alternative Western concepts that he could have drawn on to describe local ways of thinking in a more positive light. Collective and consensus decisions versus individual decision-making are aspects extensively discussed in the work strategy literature (Furnham, 1997). Nevertheless, note that Bob views consensus and collective decision-making, when it involves Tanzanian methods, as inferior.

However, Bob has his way of coaching employees who, he considers, represent talented people:

“The only way that you do it is by, is by empower your, your way. You see people of ability are, you just, you have to stop holding their reins, you have [to] dump the responsibility on them and see what happens ...” (Bob, European expatriate).

Bob exhibits a Western management attitude:

“... you can’t, allow the person to drag slowly, you throw them in and they to, either storm or drown ...” (Bob, European expatriate).

This appears to represent a workable solution and depending upon how Bob actually conducts his ‘coaching’, he may motivate his staff. Otherwise, the approach is like the adult addressing a child, the superior addressing a person of lesser ability, who must be guided without too much assistance.

Lars repeats what Bob says about the socialist heritage, but he sees change coming, although only because Tanzanians have travelled overseas to be educated:

“... that is the biggest challenge in Tanzania that I’ve experienced, is, is the attitude and this, this slowness to change ... I think that

socialism has a lot to blame for that ... We're starting to see, the educated, up and coming guys that should eventually be involved in running this country coming through now. Their attitudes are different, you know they've been educated overseas; they've had enough of all the crap that's going on here ..." (Lars, European expatriate).

Lars' Orientalist-influenced account sees change represented by the younger generation arising from overseas education, while expressing frustration with events locally. He sees socialism as the root cause of the challenge, the opposite of the colonial liberal economy. Lars' reasoning may not only be linked to the younger generations' way of thinking, but also his perception of 'overseas' education as representing supreme knowledge well within the Orientalist discourse.

Kevin warns about generalising attitudes and characteristics, but divides the population into two parts – those who are 'aggressive' and those who are 'lazy':

"... I find that people from Dar -, people living in Dar es Salaam are, people living in Arusha, Mwanza, I find they seem to be much more aggressive ... They want to get work done very quickly, they, you know they actually is spending a lot of their time and they are keen to earn ... In rural areas, I think, the people are calm, but I would say there is a, there is a strong hint of laziness. ... again like I said, it depends on geography, Tanzania being such a large nation, where you are as well. You see people have a different way of approaching things ..." (Kevin, African expatriate).

Although Kevin appears positive in his description of eagerness and dedication to work, his use of the word 'aggressive' qualifies this opinion. Aggressive is used not only by Kevin and appears to mean to work with drive and dedication. The urban population is still only around 24 per cent, which supports the construction that 76 per cent of the population may not be working with drive.

4.5.3 Asians' perceptions of Tanzanians

Toor employs many Tanzanians in his operation and he narrates:

“... As employees, we [sighs], our organization we, we have no problems working the local Tanzanians ... I think they are very (.... 6) easy people to work (..2) with easy to work with them because they are quite (..2) obliging ...” (Toor, Asian).

A troubled relationship appears to prevail with Tanzanians. According to the observation notes, Toor is searching for words, twiddling his thumbs and feeling uncomfortable. His remarks seem to underline his unease:

“... You have to be sometimes firm, but you know, in a diplomatic way ... so you can be hard on them, but it has to be done diplomatically, not, to abuse the workers or to use swearwords or things ... Language is very important, how you communicate with the locals is very important ...”, (Toor, Asian)

Toor's reference to a diplomatic language highlights another aspect of his relationship with the Tanzanians. It may reflect Tanzanians' obvious negative perception of Asians, of which Toor may be aware. His careful approach can be constructed as a story in which he tries to avoid appearing to criticise Tanzanians. Whether he can be convincing in reality is debatable.

Pandit addresses the subject of language as a facilitator in communication, but not figuratively:

“... The good part of this world is, you know, we have one language, we don't have tribalism ... disadvantage is, I guess it is improving ... because of socialism, they have not been very aggressive ... today's business, you need to be aggressive ...” (Pandit, Asian).

Pandit praises the country's common language of Kiswahili, and the lack of tribalism, but echoes white expatriates in his perception of the negative

influence of socialism. This is assumed to make Tanzanians less aggressive, a trait that is required in modern business. Pandit mentions the absence of tribalism, which anyone who has experienced this phenomenon knows can be damaging to the trust between management and staff as it leads to accusations, among expatriates, of the biased behaviour of Tanzanians and, implicitly, of Asians.

Pandit introduces another story when he constructs how the Tanzanians may learn from working in his organisation which employs both Asians and white expatriates:

“... it is also becoming an education for them, so they are seeing how Western people or people who are from outside work, so for them it is also an education ...” (Pandit, Asian).

Pandit reveals aspects of Orientalist theory, that the West represents superior knowledge, by which it can teach the lesser educated natives. In addition, he considers his environment as on equal level to that of his Western counterparts.

Pandit's views are echoed by Sidhu, although now he compares his own superior knowledge with that of Tanzanians:

“... they [Tanzanians] are very good, if they have the right qualifications that we need from our local Tanzanians ... but the problem is that we get, the quality of education here does not bring out the, (... 4) the qualifications ... we have to, teach them a lot of ourselves and then after that, once they are trained, they work very well ...”. (Sidhu, Asian).

Sidhu constructs a story of the uneducated Tanzanians who become more able when subjected to training in Sidhu's environment.

4.6 SUMMARISING THE INDIVIDUAL GROUPS' STORIES

The 'stories' below have been constructed by grouping micro stories into topics to reveal the discourses linked to the various topics and enables the researcher to conduct analysis of interviewees' stories. Some discussions are also considered in order to add further to some of the interpretations. The managers' perceptions have implications beyond their workplace and seem to encompass general opinions of their own and other ethnic groups. The story of the expatriates is expanded as they play a key role in postcolonial theory and may be perceived as an extension of colonial representatives.

The stories below are summaries and some of the richness of the text and interpretations are consequently lost. However, in broad terms, the reconstructions seem to reflect the findings.

4.6.1 The story of expatriates

4.6.1.1 Introduction – expatriates

The colonial past still influences perceptions of expatriates and the word 'expatriate' still connotes a white person heading or on top of an organisation, the key decision maker. This seems to persist despite changes in society with members of different ethnic groups, such as Africans and Indians, taking up positions traditionally filled by expatriates. The new ethnic groups are not remunerated on the same level and this may cause friction among managers if it is known. The lower enumeration may reflect the white management's perception of superiority, and this is supported by how they are perceived by others, something which they

likely know. This behaviour represents opportunistic behaviour and economic exploitation of the Other in line with Orientalist thinking.

4.6.1.2 Expatriates – self-perception and how they are perceived by others

As mentioned above, expatriates develop their own narrative in which they appear to be the superior knowledge keepers, who understand the local culture, even better than the Afrikaners, i.e. white South Africans. The Afrikaners position themselves as Africans, which the indigenous Tanzanians seem to reject. When approached, the Tanzanians sense that the Afrikaners behave in a superior manner. In common with European expatriates, they view Afrikaners as still holding Apartheid era attitudes.

The Tanzanians object to the superiority of expatriates, whether Afrikaners or Europeans. Tanzanians perceive expatriates as inadequately knowledgeable about the local culture and even as presenting a superficial and biased version of their own knowledge. Tanzanians regard themselves as being on an equal level with Europeans, whom they respect irrespective of their negative views of Afrikaners or South African expatriates.

The Asians appear hesitant to describe expatriates, and although they regard their knowledge as of relevance to Tanzanian businesses, they promote their own abilities. Implicitly, the Asians may not accept the superiority of white expatriates despite the fact some portray themselves as white expatriates, British or European. Asians have also been subjected to colonisation and may be in the same complex position as Tanzanians (see the discussion of Fanon and Tanzanians below; 4.6.3).

4.6.2 Asians – self-perception and how they are perceived by others

The Asians avoid answering the question directly and a response must be interpreted from how they comment on others. Most view themselves as Tanzanian Asians, although some feel more British or as belonging to the Western world. Asians promote their own knowledge and organisations. They are few, better off than other Tanzanians and feel closest to their own kind, those with whom they share a cultural and ethnic affinity. This may be explained by Indian expatriates' relatively quick assimilation with local Asians.

The white expatriates do not see Asians as belonging to their group and find it difficult to relate to a group who, on the one hand, prefer to be like them, and, on the other, are distinct and separate. Clearly, they do not distinguish between an expatriate Indian and Asian as Indians quickly transform from newcomers and expatriates into Tanzanian Asians. The European expatriates construct a story of an ethnic group that has contaminated Africans with its corruption, a story shared by Tanzanians.

The Tanzanians attribute negative characteristics to Asians as well and claim that Asians like the Arabs want to enslave them, exploit and manipulate them. The Tanzanians construct a story of Asians who act not for the organisation, but in their own interests. They are perceived to use their own language even when with non-speakers and to group together. They are perceived as not adapting to the kinship traditions in Tanzania.

4.6.3 Tanzanians – self-perception and how they are perceived by others

The Tanzanian managers paint a complex picture; they view themselves as more competent, sometimes on an equal level with the expatriates, and at other times as needing Western knowledge. The complex relationship may be explained by Fanon and the three phases a native author faces as explained above (Williams and Chrisman, 1993).

The expatriates construct a story of the lesser being who has the wrong work attitude and lacks education. The expatriates perceive their own domain as superior because they contribute higher value to Tanzanians with education from abroad and experience from Tanzanian rural areas, the environment and context the expatriates know. They reason the Western way – the younger generation will bring change – while the Tanzanians tend to rest their hopes and expectations on the experienced generation.

Asians have a complex relationship with indigenous Tanzanians. They construct a story of the need to be diplomatic and to meet the Tanzanians' needs for respect and inclusion. However, this may be a strategy to avoid revealing that they do not follow the rules of local society, but cluster together and care for their own needs, contrary to the local kinship culture. It may also represent an attempt to avoid revealing their subjugation of Tanzanians. Only when Asians educate Tanzanians in their environment are the needs of Asians met. This seems very similar to the expatriates' narration.

4.6.4 Levelling between the groups

All groups promote their own abilities mostly by pointing to the weaknesses of the opposing groups' whom they regard as the "Other". It is very difficult to perceive a clear ranking, as they all consider themselves as superior to the others.

The expatriates find the Tanzanians as lacking education and, in particular, their own kind of education. Only the Tanzanians working in the expatriates' natural environment, the cities, have the right drive. The Asians are attributed negative behaviours like corruption and of corrupting Tanzanians.

The Asians are most difficult to interpret, specifically, the position they assume. They represent a particularly rich culture and elements of this are not part of the research data, such as the caste system, although it is known to have influence. They group together and do not take full part in the local kinship culture. The fact that they compare themselves with expatriates may mean that they accept the superior position of the latter, but this is modified as well by reference to their own successful organisations.

The Tanzanians claim a superior position in the local environment and suggest that the expatriates do not understand local culture and even do not apply their own knowledge properly. They do not find that the expatriates represent any kind of superiority. The Tanzanians construct stories of Afrikaners that link them to Apartheid in terms of, for example, their behaviour. In the eyes of the Tanzanians, the Asians seem to

represent a disliked people who reject their culture and they are attributed negative intentions and behaviours like wanting to enslave Tanzanians. Asians are perceived to be disloyal in organisations and to be intrigue-makers and corrupt.

Although the study to this point has assumed that the management group is multicultural, it has explored the different cultural groups in isolation from each other. The group interviews offer an opportunity to explore a multicultural group of managers in interaction, and to reveal (in the more 'natural' context of a general discussion) whether any new dimensions not hitherto revealed should be added.

4.7 GROUP INTERVIEWS

The key purpose of the group interviews was to explore the different groups in interaction rather than in isolation, and to explore if the understanding from the individual interviews would be confirmed or disconfirmed by the group interviews and would new topic be elicited? The group interviews were composed as described in the methodology chapter 3.3.6 (page 89). Group interviews could also confirm or disconfirm the interview sampling as the selection would be accepted or rejected as part of the group discussion.

4.7.1 Procedures








The group members were given the consent forms and introduced generally to the research and specifically the group interview objectives. Both groups were then presented with depictions of four different people eligible for any of the management group positions. The participants were

asked to choose what kind of position these people should fill. There were five choices of management positions all directors: managing, finance, technical, marketing or human resources. They should, as described in the methodology chapter, first choose the positions individually and then discuss together the outcome and agree on the final choices.

4.7.2 Outcomes of the group interviews – management group

The narrations from the group interview are presented in the table below.

Table 4.7.2.1 Group 1 – choices of management group composition






GROUP OPINIONS	MANAGING DIRECTOR	FINANCE DIRECTOR	TECHNICAL DIRECTOR	MARKETING DIRECTOR	HUMAN RESOURCE DIRECTOR
GROUP 1, Tanzian grooup					
Choice	White expatriate	Indian/Asian	Asian	Tanzanian	Tanzanian, women
Key argument	: command respect, : dedicated to his work, : experience from other countries, : more experience than locals, : others able to draw upon his knowledge	: Indians are good in accounting and finance, : honest	: technical know how, : environment knowledge	: gender is product dependant linked to user of the product, : must be a "smart" looking person, :market knowledge	: Tanzanian woman, : symbolises the "mother", : easy access, easy to talk to, : can share thoughts
Choice group 1			 	 	

The outcome is from work group one consisting of two indigenous Tanzanian women and represents their evaluation. They chose a white expatriate as managing director and constructed stories that explained their choice. The expatriate is dedicated to his work, gained experience from employment in other countries, has more experience than Tanzanians and others would be able to draw on his knowledge. As finance director they chose the Indian Sikh as Sikhs are honest and work well in finance. The Sikh was also preferred as technical director, again for his knowledge, specifically, of the environment. The choice for marketing director provoked discussion, in which it was concluded that choice of gender would depend

upon the product sold. A woman was chosen as human resources director because she signifies the 'mother' in the Tanzanian context. A mother is easily available, easy to talk and relate to and share thoughts. This last choice may reflect the context of the kinship sphere in an organisation.

The outcome of the second group consisting only of Western expatriates is shown in table 4.7.2.2 below.

Table 4.7.2.2 Group 2 – choices of management group composition



GROUP OPINIONS	MANAGING DIRECTOR	FINANCE DIRECTOR	TECHNICAL DIRECTOR	MARKETING DIRECTOR	HUMAN RESOURCE DIRECTOR
GROUP 2, Expatriate group					
	<p>Expatriate: Courage and overall experience in technical and business : choice dependant of company of origin or ownership, : could also be a Tanzanian.</p> <p>Tanzanian because: knowledge local environment :web of relationships</p>	<p>Expatriate: Due to lack of locally trained Tanzanians, :vast experience</p>	<p>TZ man: There are some qualified Tanzanians with foreign education and come literally as expats, :Indian due to his turban, : another no, :</p>	<p>Indian: Indian/(Asian) community strong involvement in commercial life, : contact network.</p> <p>Tanzanian - same arguments. African lady: representative. Expatriate: customer related, large customers run by expatriates</p>	<p>TZ woman: Most frequent choice among companies,highly qualified :Men are not qualified (appalling low quality),</p>
Choice					
Choices group 2					
					

The expatriate group constructed somewhat different stories. They agreed that the managing director position could be filled both by an indigenous Tanzanian and a white expatriate. The reason was the expatriate's perceived courage and overall experience in technical and commercial matters. The choice would be dependent upon the view of the owning company. The reason for choosing a Tanzanian was his supposed higher knowledge of the local environment and network of local relationships, which was perceived as an appreciation of the kinship system. The technical director position could be filled by a white expatriate

due to his perceived vast experience and the lack of qualified Tanzanians. The Finance Director position provoked some discussions. They would prefer the Tanzanian, but the Tanzanians' perceived knowledge level was characterised as "*appallingly low*". If a good candidate was found he could take up the position, which otherwise a Sikh could fill, but not another Asian. Sikhs were perceived as outstandingly qualified people. It was a general perception of the strength of the Asian business community that would support the employment of an Asian as Marketing Director. Sikhs were not mentioned when this position was discussed. The conclusion was that a Tanzanian man could fill the position. The woman received particular attention, as she was recognised as someone who could be representative, and relate to large companies run by expatriates. This perspective may relate to consumer advertising, where it is assumed that females catch more attention, or a biased male perspective.

Joining the two opinions, table 4.7.2.3 is constructed. This table presents both groups' assumed evaluation of the best composition of the management group. No-one protested or commented the selection of group members as irrelevant or biased indirectly confirming the sampling of interviewees.

Table 4.7.2.3 – Assumed combined group opinions

	MANAGING DIRECTOR	FINANCE DIRECTOR	TECHNICAL DIRECTOR	MARKETING DIRECTOR	HUMAN RESOURCE DIRECTOR
Assumed combined group opinion					

4.7.3 Choice of managers in the management group – discussion

The outcome of the two group interviews accepts the Asian in one of the most important positions. This is in contrast to the outcome in the individual interviews and the reason could be the Asian was depicted as a Sikh. The depiction was perceived by both groups as representing a Tanzanian Asian of acceptable quality. This represents a “successful” research mistake, as such an outcome would otherwise not materialise, and explains why the Tanzanians still chose Asians in the management group. There was a bias in choice of pictures, and although foreseen and corrected orally during the presentation of the task, the researcher’s ‘biased’ choice probably still influenced the outcome. The comments in the expatriate interview group explain the choice:

“... It is unusual for a Sikh to be employed anyway. He is a technical, he is either doing something with his hands or he is managing his own company ... he can only be involved in engineering and running his own company, ... highly unlikely to be involved in finance and he would probably employ somebody in finance ...” (Group 2, European expatriates)

The relatively detailed knowledge this group has of Sikhs influenced the outcome of their final choice. The other group, the Tanzanian women, who made a similar choice, did not comment on Sikhs beyond expressing that they were highly competent.

South Africans despite a negative profile were not discussed in any of the groups and may have been automatically dismissed. Another reason could be that the context of a group interview is different from that of a personal interview. People in the one-to-one interview, despite the interview setting and recording, may be more open and direct as the

recording is often forgotten or consciously ignored. Examining the composition, the men are in dominant roles, whereas the women are in positions usually controlled by men, for example, in human resources and marketing. It is not unusual for the managing director to cover this position as it is regarded as very important to the company. The marketing function is then degraded to ordinary manager who reports to the managing director, a role which is filled by an indigenous African due to his perceived local network of contacts (experience based observation).

4.7.4 Assumed composition

It appears that the management group may be composed by different ethnic groups whether the composition is limited to 'the inner decision making group' or to the 'full' group. Apparently the ethnic groups that may represent the best fit or less challenges will consist of Tanzanians and Europeans. Europeans seem to position women in 'controlled' roles whereas the women, appears more 'rational' and 'reflective' in their choices.

While this chapter has discussed managerial perceptions, the next chapter will discuss organisational discourses.

5.0 ANALYSIS TWO – ORGANISATIONAL DISCOURSES

The previous chapter presented the interviewees also called the narrators. It was discussed how they construct stories of their social environment, how they perceive themselves and the other ethnic groups and how they on this basis construct a management group. Their stories are impacted by the embedded discourses in their societies, both local and original. Indications of these discourses are evident in how they construct their stories. This chapter turns now to analysing those discourses.

5.1 SOCIETAL DISCOURSES INFLUENCING ORGANISATIONS

This chapter will focus on how the two dominant discourses influence the operation of a company; the discourses of kinship with the linked discourse extended family and the Orientalist discourse with the linked educational discourse. The indicated linkage represents the principal link though also other minor discourses are linked, but they are not regarded as major drivers of the discourse content. They again are all influenced by the discourse of Ujamaa and how this discourse is perceived among the interviewees, (section 4.1.3, page 106). Together these discourses form how the societal and the organisational topics are constructed and perceived by the interviewees.

5.1.1 Experiencing Ujamaa

The discussion of the societal environment appears limited to three important discourses that all influence the operation of a company: the kinship, the extended family and the educational standards. All of them are influenced by the political Ujamaa. As a brief reminder of the earlier

discussion in section 2.3.5 page 32, it is important to consider the confusion between the kinship culture of the past and the consequences of Ujamaa. The rich cultural past was built upon the extended family and the communal kinship construct (Spalding 1996, Ibhawoh and Dibua 2003). Within this construct kinship also manifested itself as tribalism in some areas with strong tribal clusters. The political Ujamaa programme introduced socialism, which is a construct of similar content, but still different in character. The kinship construct is the traditional system built and defined over many years, whereas President Nyerere, enforced the socialist construct (Spalding 1996, Ibhawoh and Dibua 2003). He established a 'one party' system and ruled as a dictator. In 1967, he introduced the political Ujamaa programme, which would be built upon traditional society (Nyerere 1968, Ibhawoh and Dibua 2003).

The original 'Ujamaa' represented the traditional kinship construct, but political Ujamaa nationalised the industrial and finance sectors, while the villagization program covered the rural sector. As such, villagization represented a central goal of Ujamaa: "The aim of the scheme was to initiate the transformation of rural society to create "rural economic and social communities where people would live together for the good of all" (Nyerere 1968:337 cited by Ibhawoh and Dibua 2003:67)

Ujamaa is a Swahili word meaning communal togetherness. When President Nyerere applied this name to his political programme, *Ujamaa* was given a new socialist meaning; a significantly harsh term, "Kulak Ujamaa", reflected the Stalinist version of socialism (Ibhawoh and Dibua,

2003:68). The Ujamaa programme affected 80 per cent of the population, or the complete rural population as illustrated by the story below:

“Finally, the 'Operation of Planned Villages' was technically a success: by early 1977, 13.5 million people, nearly the entire rural population of Tanzania had been resettled in approximately 7,500 villages” (Ergas 1980:404).

The Ujamaa policy came to an end in 1984, when in a speech by President Nyerere he admitted the policy had been a failure (Simensen 2009).

The Ujamaa period, from 1967 to 1984, represented a dominant aspect of the social life of some of the interviewees. Today, this period is of concern to them due to its impact. Grace who now lives in a city, sums up her Ujamaa experience in this way:

“So forcing people to live together, destroying this structure [extended family], and this structure enforcing people to live together there, that was difficult ... That was some resistance because as I say, we know our norms, our past we take care of our own people on so on, so to be forced to move from here so that I can live with a bigger group, there was some resistance in the ... Unfortunately the Ujamaa also came with the, the nationalising schedule of lot of companies, the creation of parastatal organisations, most of them are run down now, eventually, they were run down, mismanagements and the corruption ... So people associated Ujamaa with the good things of Nyerere, but the results also weren't so good ...” (Grace, indigenous Tanzanian).

Grace smiled when she mentioned the resistance to change indicating that the extended family still bonded by defying the implementation of the policies. Corruption flourished in this period. The bureaucrats' corruptive influence in the villagization programme is described by several researchers like Spalding (1996) and Ibhawoh and Dibua (2003).

Grace softens her criticism of President Nyerere by applying an indirect or diplomatic language. She searches for positive outcomes as Ema does when she recalls her experiences from the Ujamaa period:

“Yes, this really, that is one thing that Tanzania, the, the president of Tanzania, or the part of the nation did, was to break down this (tribalism). And he did it in so many ways ... First of all he made the language Swahili, the national language and almost everybody in Tanzania can speak Swahili. But also, what he did mostly is remove people from their localities, local environment and take them to other places to interact ... That way we interacted a lot. And even that interaction also brought in, even unions of marriage ... And even they attend different religion so that has broken, broken down the, the, this attachment with tribe ...” (Ema, indigenous Tanzanian).

The positive element constructed by Ema is the interaction with groups of people brought together by the Ujamaa policies. This even led to intermarriages and new relationships, which apparently broke down tribal clusters and made even tribal areas more like other parts of society in which such a mix of people already existed.

The interviews with both Ema and Grace left the impression that something had not been revealed. Perhaps an observer, but still an insider could provide some background information on this uncomfortable unsaid. Bob’s understanding of Ujamaa, as a European expatriate, suggests another perceived reality. He considers the core values of families, and their ethical beliefs which obviously suffered. Bob’s narrations are presented as two different topics: the family decay and destruction of the social fabric and economy.

On family decay, Bob remarks:

“When I came to Tanzania I was in the sisal estate and there we saw this ‘rot’ and thing, where a lot of children been born out of

wedlock and women with, single women with children and men playing around ... Prior of coming up to independence, the family structure was very, it was complete unheard for an African to marry out of wedlock and it was, and the parents would simply not tolerate their children floating around ... So the parents were responsibility, they were two parents, the children were looked after And this rot did come for the social chaos that came with the social revolution, the time which did cause chaos ... In order to break tribalism, they moved populations around they denied the Chaggas and (others), access to education, they moved families ... So, even if a man had a wife, he would be working in Morogoro and she would be working Mbeya” (Bob, European Expatriate).

During the interview “marrying out of wedlock” was understood as meaning illegitimate marriage not involving the parties’ families and following the traditional behaviour within the kinship system. The reason for this seems to have been the forced dislocation. Burham and van der Spuy (1996) discuss a comparable issue, the dislocation during the Apartheid era in South Africa and the high illegitimacy rate this caused with children growing up with low income households.

Bob continues by recalling the destruction of the social fabric and the private economy:

“It was a socially extremely destructive. It destroyed the social fabric of the country. For two reasons: one is that it broke up families moving them around, the second one is that the economic, the collapse of the economy made it impossible to have a normal family relationship. The Tanzanians were, were inflicted with severe poverty and they, and until this day they remain very impoverished. And this economic growth that we are talking about today touches very few people” (Bob, European expatriate).

The Ujamaa policy ended tribalism, and so much more, leaving people impoverished. Bob claims that the effects of this remain and that the current economic improvement “touches very few people”.

5.1.2 Understanding Kinship

How do the European expatriates understand the local culture and the kinship construct? Lars constructs a story of how the locals are influenced by other concerns:

“So, there're these big international companies here, and you employ these guys with really good track records, but they never give you a hundred percent, because they've all got other businesses. They've all got sidelines, you know. And it's just, it's just, you know. So there's a lot of I guess what would you call it, minor entrepreneurship” (Lars, European expatriate).

When Lars continues his story, he mentions family and kinship bonding:

“...The Tanzanians have this community aspect as well. So this mother brother father uncle auntie, so (..2) within positions there's a lot of network goes on. A lot of business that might go the wrong ways, on just some relationship wise rather than ... just whether it was ..., that it was the right decision, that was the best company, that is the best tender. There's there's a lot of that, as well (Lars, European expatriate)

Lars now constructs a story of the influence of the family in an organisation, how company tenders are decided by family connections, rather than what may be the best rational solution for the organisation. Lars refers to the uncle and aunt who are usually perceived as the extended family. He continues to explain the networks acting for the benefit of the employee and his family, but not the company:

“In my view (..2), [it] is an escalation of the family (..3) network. It's that same principle that's used, that's in their work to me. I mean just, I know there's a lot of teambuilding here. The guys go out, they socialize in in a group, or (..3) you see them at weddings, you see them at funerals, I mean it's just a mass ...” (Lars, European expatriate)

Lars constructs a story in which the family bonds and kinship are part of the organisation.

According to Stan it takes years to understand the kinship system:

“The extended family is something, which I do not think many Europeans understand a part” (Stan, European expatriate).

Stan claims that it takes years for a European to understand the extended family, which is essential to kinship and creates the dynamics of the construct; loyalties that many expatriates sense are so impenetrable and difficult to comprehend. The social relationship kinship involves neighbours, friends and their families. It becomes even more impenetrable and mysterious when tribalism occupies the mind of the expatriate, as this connotes nepotism and biased behaviour wherever it exists. Stan presents a story about how a non-Tanzanian interprets the social construction of extended family:

“It is, you know, I was with the prime minister, not this one, the one before, he is part of the royal here, and I have was handling something ...and in his house, outside his house, he has another house, separate, the other one you can see from the beach, that’s his, and back there is another house, separate house. So I was, ‘so what’s that house for?’ ‘No, that’s for my extended family’ ... So, when he gets, because they can come, from the village, you know, people that he, maybe he met once in his life, you know, but he has to, has to look after them, cannot throw them away. So instead of bringing them into his house, he has a separate house for them, where they can stay for the night. Extended family is, and that’s why I am saying that, if you [the European] end up being accepted as extended, it is a double-edged sword. Yes, you can do things, but you then have to play by their rules” (Stan, European expatriate).

“To play by their rules” means that you have to contribute to the common good or share your own resources with other kinship members. Stan implies that Europeans do not see the strong kinship bonding at work, and

that Tanzanians introduce concepts from their social environment into their organisational life which may affect their behaviour.

However, Bob seems to understand the African family, perhaps because of the part of Europe he is from, an area known for its close family ties. His construction of the African family is instructive. It is a long story, but revealing:

“I think if anything the African extended family, goes back long before the East and West are interfering, goes back to the time when Tanzania, when the African was basically a patriarchal society and it was. It had a patriarch at the head of the family and, and everybody down to the bottom of the pyramid helped each other and they had very strict code of obligations to each other. And if anything that, that structure has been broken down by the influence of, of western and eastern social changes that have been imposed on Africa. But having said that nobody is going to break the African culture. It is very strong, (laughing) a lot of other countries that have gone that way, but I think that it is just going through dodgy phase, I think they are reinventing themselves very successfully, I don't think they [external influence] remain very cohesive. The African extended family system is still, remain strong” (Bob, European expatriate)

The story Bob constructs is factually accurate supported by researchers like Spalding (1996) Ibhawoh and Dibua (2003), Grischow and McKnight (2008) and Dogbe (1980). Bob's remark that *“nobody is going to break the African culture”* is also consistent with Grace's view of the Ujamaa period, in particular when she says, *“we know our norms”*:

“That was some resistance because as I say, we know our norms, our past we take care of our own people on so on, so to be forced to move from here so that I can live with a bigger group, there was some resistance in the ... [population] (Grace, indigenous Tanzanian).

The above stories and how they are constructed lead to further reflection. Could it be that the difficult Ujamaa process for Tanzanians has provoked an increased level of self-perception and independence? If so, what Europeans observe is Tanzanians returning to their roots or leaving the “dodgy phase” that Bob describes.

5.1.3 Kinship and sharing

Urbanisation and modernity in Tanzanian society may reduce the strength of the kinship system and change the networks of relationships. Alber and Martin (2010) investigated such a claim, but in West Africa. They noted that societal changes did not change the overall importance of the kinship relationship, but the social practices within the kinship changed to a varying degree in the cases they examined. Zoogah (2009) and Dogbe (1980) argued that when it comes to social structures like kinship and religion one may generalise as regards Africa. Consequently, the findings of Alber and Martin (2010) may apply.

Grace who lives in an urban area immediately thinks of family and her upbringing and the way they took care of each other when asked whether she is influenced by ideas of extended family and kinship in her work as a manager:

“... I mean, you can’t isolate how you grew up from the way you are living with the other people ... You are, you were expected to support somebody ... we all share in the sense that we in that times, we visit and not only that, we make contributions” (Grace, indigenous Tanzanian)

Grace cannot isolate her culture from her role as a manager in an organisation and immediately refers to the strong foundations of the extended family, the obligation to support each other. The order of themes topics applied may have significance and indicate a strong link to soft management:

Juma lives in a small town and offers his comments underlining family orientation separate from organisational matters:

“The extended family in Tanzania is so much pronounced, it is so much pronounced only when it comes to assistance ... it is purely, it is purely a family relationship only It comes to the birth, marriage and the other functions related to the family, but not to business”
(Juma, indigenous Tanzanian).

Eventually, a clear statement about the extended family prevails. It is conceptualised by Juma as a strong social element. He seems to reject its influence in an organisational context. Western expatriates tend to believe the opposite as Lars suggests in his story of local employees and their network. Such views contribute, as mentioned above, to reduce the lack of trust Western expatriates have in local employees. It may be, however, that Juma is aware of how the Europeans reason and has a personal interest in viewing the extended family as external to his organisation. As a manager in charge of hiring in many employees, he may be vulnerable to accusations by expatriates of observing family concerns rather than organisational business concerns.

Godwin lives in an area with a history of hierarchical tribal structures. He speaks about the pressures of the extended family and constructs a

story about a staff member from a general point of view and how he perceives his position:

“He has this huge extended family who are, ok, they are all have hands extended to get something and maybe he is, he cannot support all of them ... and then some of them they become dishonest, because now they want to satisfy everybody, but while on the other hand they should become a sort of a challenge you know, ok, how do I go about this ...” (Godwin, indigenous Tanzanian).

Godwin constructs a story of people making demands on his employees, and since they cannot meet all requests, some may become dishonest in their efforts to satisfy everyone.

Modern times may have weakened the inclination and pressure to share in line with the findings of Burman and van der Spuy (2009). The kinship relationships remain, but the social practices like sharing change.

“ ... Of course now, with modern times ok, you have to put a limit how much you can, you can go, how much you can offer, how much you can help, yeah, ... because ok, otherwise you all sink together ...” (Godwin, indigenous Tanzanian).

It may be that the sharing practice has developed and now only concerns family related issues, in which case the scepticism of the Europeans should lessen.

5.1.4 Educational challenges

Poor educational standards among local employees and managers are mentioned in all interviews and are frequently used to explain the weak participation of Tanzanians in management positions despite being praised for their quality once trained. The University of Dar es Salaam praises and rewards its students and makes them feel valued. Attitudes and

expectations among some students are created which according to Bob find low acceptance in the industry.

Bob constructs a story in which he finds that university students graduate without having learnt anything because their English proficiency was too low. The LOITSA programme found that only 10 per cent of Tanzanians with formal schooling knew English (Brock-Utne et al 2010). In Bob's story the students have to work before they achieve any benefits. He explains how he perceives the situation:

"We generally, in this factory we generally try and avoid university graduates for the simple reason that they are not up to speed ... they come of university, they have been to University, but they haven't really learnt anything because their English abilities have been too low ... The biggest problem with university graduate is not only his language, but also his attitude, he is been, he come to a job interview with an attitude that he, somebody owes him a living ... He doesn't understand that, that, you know, there is no free lunch out there" (Bob, European expatriate).

Bob's understanding is that the university graduates do not have sufficient drive. Despite their education they have not really learnt anything as their language abilities have been too low. The graduate has the wrong attitude, that someone, in this case the company, owes him a living and this prevents him from realising that he has to work for it. Bob's view echoes that of Maliyamkono and Mason (2006) who cite the ESDP (Education Sector Development Programme):

"... that graduates cannot always hold on to jobs and frequently show unsatisfactory job performance, as they generally lack creativity, conceptual skills and innovative ability" (p. 426).

Lars, another western expatriate, also comments on the educational theme topic and expands it beyond university level, generalising and pointing to the practice of sending the children of the elite for schooling abroad:

“The education isn't up to standard here ... The wealthy educate their kids overseas ... You know they're not paying teachers, they're not investing in the schools, yet, yet the money is here. With this oil and gas. Or with this gas” (Lars, EE).

Lars' story may be perceived as anecdotal influenced by his Orientalist attitude. However, the findings in the LOITSA programme and Maliyamkono and Mason's book, *The Promise*, seem to confirm his story (Brock-Utne et al 2010, Maliyamkono and Mason 2006). All in all, there is sustained belief among Europeans that due to the low educational standards, and the failure of the government, they must fill the educational gap. This seems to reflect a similar position as described by Heineken, but regarding Health Services (van Cranenburgh and Arenas 2014).

The reason why the government does not invest in education for its population is not the focus of this thesis, as it is not relevant to the research question. However, for an organisation, it is an important point that the educational infrastructure is not adequate and that private organisations must invest and focus on educating their employees even if this is a governmental responsibility. They are working in a country where the educational standards appear so low that they cannot employ Tanzanians in managing positions unless educated abroad or have adequate experience from another company. Claims of poor educational standards are further supported by locals themselves educating their children abroad.

Bob perceives wider implications of the lack of English proficiency in the population implying that it causes a sense of inadequacy:

“They have a high sensitivity about their inadequacies to communicate in English” (Bob, European expatriate).

This has further implication for European managers. It underlines the need to acquire Kiswahili knowledge, which would enable them to communicate in the language of their employees. This may, in addition, improve their ability to understand the cultural context.

While finalising this study, a recent UNDP development report was published and the quote below highlights the educational challenges Tanzania faces.

“The situation of education in Tanzania is mixed. On the positive side, since the early 2000s, Tanzania’s education sector has witnessed impressive achievements in school enrolments at all levels. For example, 80% of primary school-age children (age 7–13) now attend school. On the negative side, however, the quality of education offered by Tanzania’s education system is low. In addition, the country’s education sector is characterized by increasing student dropout cases, along with a lack of competencies and reduced morale and motivation among teachers. Given the importance that a well-educated population has for economic transformation and human development, the state of education in Tanzania is indeed alarming (Tanzania Development Report 2014, published 2015).

5.2 ORGANISATIONAL STORIES BY MANAGERS – INTERNAL TOPICS

From a Western management perspective, the ~~themes~~ topics of the following section contain representations of vital tools for a management dealing both with internal and external stakeholders. These tools represent human relations dimensions and organisational attitudes that are

influenced by market conditions. The less the competition, the less the need for focus on marketing and customer relations, and vice versa with strong competition; the human dimension becomes increasingly important and has influence beyond the marketing and sales department (Barney 2002, Grant 2005, Porter 1997).

5.2.1 Work behaviour and attitude

Earlier claims persist: ‘the African is lazy’, ‘he is not focused on his job’ and ‘he does not set any goals for his work in the organisation’. Researchers like Zoogah (2009) and Beugré and Offodile (2001) also discuss, specifically, lack of organisational effectiveness. Such views are held not only by expatriates, but also by local entrepreneurs like Godwin.

Asked about his experiences with Tanzanian managers, Godwin is reflective and narrates a story of how he perceives their work attitude:

“When it comes to management I think also there is a sort of a cultural, cultural difference ... some of these, very good managers, but the discipline is sort of lacking ... ok, we go to school, I mean, ok, in and now we are moving out of the village, and out of this toiling with the hand, ok and then I am going to get education ... and then I am going to have a good life and, may be with a nice office and a car and all the, ... may be it is ok in life. I don’t need to report to work at 8 o’clock sharp I am not a messenger, ok, who is cleaning the offices, to clean it before 8 ...” (Godwin, indigenous Tanzanian).

In his story, Godwin compares the local manager with the expatriate and implicitly indicates an attitudinal contrast. Something is lacking, as the local employee wants to enjoy life once he has completed his education, imagining a nice office and a nice car with freedom to relate to the office as it suits him as he is on a higher level than a messenger or office cleaner.

The industrial development in Tanzania gradually took place and its history is short. It may be a misinterpretation by local managers of what is happening when society changes from agrarian rural society to urban industrial society. The construction of an industry and the efforts necessary to make it work may represent elements difficult to comprehend for people without experience from an industrial society. It may, therefore, explain Godwin's conclusion:

"Some commitment which are per cent which in many cases, ok, make the work a little bit slow or, not exactly to the 'expectations' (Godwin, indigenous Tanzanian).

Returning to the studies above that implicitly claim organisational inefficiency in African organisations, the interpretation may be a mix of representations: the understanding of industrial society, a more complex interpretation, the attitude linked to hierarchy and education, and eventually Orientalism. Lack of understanding and experience in industrial society combined with representation of hierarchical African society may explain some of the attitudes. When Africans acquire a higher education, there may be a misconception of the needs of industrial society. The Orientalist viewpoint may explain the position of a European, but for an African who makes use of similar language, the phenomenon may be explained by Fanon's theory that the African positions himself as a European (Fanon 1986),

For Kevin, "aggressiveness" is understood as commitment or working drive:

“... people living in Dar es Salaam are, people living in Arusha, Mwanza, I find they seem to be much more aggressive. They want to get work done very quickly, they, you know they actually is spending a lot of their time and they are keen to earn ... Here [small town] I think, the people are calm, but I would say there is a, there is a strong hint of laziness. This is also a city, but it's, it doesn't seem to [be] that much pressure here ...” (Kevin, African expatriate).

Kevin constructs a story of how he perceives the difference between urban and rural areas. The pressures in the cities make Africans more alerted than the quiet life in the villages of the rural areas. In these areas the Africans are not only relaxed, but also lazy. Thus, Kevin may be adapting a transformed Orientalist viewpoint, as may be explained by Fanon, or he may be stating a fact. However, this could also reflect an actual behaviour resulting from a calmer life in the rural areas.

Nevertheless, other dimensions may also be at play as revealed in Godwin's story.

“People like myself they are not employed, or they will not take employment, outside something on their own ... If they get employed, only they [stay] for a short time, maybe it to get, may be little bit of capital, or ok, a little bit experience ... and start something on their own” (Godwin, indigenous Tanzanian).

People are different. Some have more energy and motivation than others, and Godwin is obviously representative of this latter group. He is probably right that entrepreneurial people represent a small group. To identify and bring such people into organisations would represent a significant competitive advantage. However, it is a challenge to make such people work in an organisation rather than operate their own companies.

5.2.2 Motivational factors

Motivational factors in this case relate to peoples' capabilities, which indicate their willingness to work for and contribute to the success of the company. It seems to be highly individually based and relates to one of the oldest and most difficult psychological questions to answer. Why are people motivated to do anything, and if they do something, why do they do this and not something else? (Furnham 2007).

Bob constructs his story from the perspective of a western oriented employer with local cultural knowledge embedded.

"First of all, people need respect, they need to be treated as equals, it's not about money, it's about, it's about respect and empowerment ... if you're running a business here, and you have serious reservations about any, ability of the local Tanzanian to take responsibility and you therefore rule out the possibility of giving him responsibility ... and you employ expatriates ... you are running a totally unsustainable business" (Bob, expatriate European).

Bob now constructs a story that counters the perception that one should not employ Tanzanians in management positions due to their low educational level. He explains how one risks running a totally unsustainable business in Tanzania if the capabilities of Tanzanians are dismissed and expatriates are employed instead. Bob sets firm conditions on how to relate to Tanzanians and elaborates on his thinking:

"... you can't, allow the person to drag slowly, you throw them in and they do, either swim or drown, ... but you, you, when you see somebody who has got potential to take responsibility you must pass the responsibility to them ... You can watch them and observe them and train them, but you have to push them into responsibility" (Bob, European expatriate).

Bob believes that there is also need for firmness in approaching Tanzanians. This appears to be a kind of careful coaching of Tanzanians before applying a degree of firmness. Bob would enforce responsibility above guidance and use discipline as a manager. Such an approach can be interpreted as the dominant manager enforcing control in his position of power – this point, which is of relevance to Foucault's theory of economic and political power, is discussed by Rabinow (2010). It can also be understood that the Tanzanians need a little push into the unknown industrial world. This may not be a negative contention, but rather patriarchal, even caring in nature and an expression of trust in the Tanzanian. Bob may not understand that the industry experience deeply embedded in the Western mind is not yet comprehended by Tanzanians.

Subsequently, Bob reflects on the opinion of Tanzanians on salary and work compensation and introduces a new salary concept, which is different from that found in the West:

"Sometimes you can pay somebody a very good salary and say this is your total package, covers education, covers transport, covers everything ... That person although he is very well paid feels very downtrodden compared to the guy who is got half his salary but he got school fees paid ... but friends etc., pressures and the great extended family will consume that money and he still has got nothing for school fees ..." (Bob, European expatriate).

In social kinship, Tanzanians must share, as mentioned by Grace (see 5.1.2, page 155). When part of the salary is compensated as fringe benefits, it reduces the person's cash and enables him to escape the demands from his extended family and friends. When there is less cash

available, he escapes their demands, as he cannot share more than what he has:

Denis has a different perspective and constructs a story of how he would motivate his staff by setting targets. This is possibly related to his Western education:

“Now, what motivates them, you have to set the rules of the game first of all ... which they will not like, but indeed you put some motivation, some incentives but you give targets, let's say to the sales reps ...” (Denis, indigenous Tanzanian)

As regards the staff, Denis considers what “motivates them”, and views them in a position that is different and distant from his own. He sees motivation in socio-economic terms and introduces a power game and sets the rules, *his* rules, for how the game should be played:

“... You, what we are all working for this company, and we are measured for our performance and you are reporting to me. So if you fail, you fail me, but unfortunately I can have another one in your position who can work for me better than you do, so let's strike a deal here. In order for you to be here with me, you have to achieve your targets. If you don't they might come and fire me, and I will not allow that, so before they come and fire me, I have to take good care of you, are we together here, do you understand me?” (Denis, indigenous Tanzanian).

Implicitly, Denis now configures the rules of his game. The staff must meet his demands, and if not, his boss will fire him. Therefore, it is better for Denis that his staff suffer if they do not succeed. The staff must work hard for him and if successful, he will take good care of them. This may imply a kind of enforced loyalty. The metaphoric image of the staff driven by the whip prevails. This is an autocratic approach. It could represent scientific management and control, but not a real past in modern management

thinking as research reveals (Bolman et al 1998, Truss et al 1997).

However, as argued by Beugré and Offodile (2001), the African managers are often autocratic and it may be this kind of thinking that informs Denis' narration, although the literature review indicates that society is less autocratic than many researchers claim. He seems influenced by a combination of cultural thinking and Western contractual thinking. The cultural or kinship thinking in this case is that of the chief, the supreme head controlling his tribe and manipulating their behaviour. There is, however, no softness or care in this approach, rather power domination and manipulation. The supposedly autocratic behaviour could be different as is discussed below.

In this thesis, socio-economics is understood as the relation of economics to social values, as discussed, for example, by Corry (1999) in his critique of Lutz' "Economics for the Common Good" (1999). This understanding appears as well in the thinking of Thorsrud in "Democracy at Work".

Grace conceptualises and tells a different story, emphasising the weakness of cultural generalisations:

"... If it is a small company I would involve with them ... Their ideas are respected ... You get involved in people, you get very good ideas out of my job, that you may not have thought about ... Common sense, but still old wisdom" (Grace, indigenous Tanzanian)

To an experienced expatriate in Africa, Grace's reference is to the kinship construct and kinship thinking. Her story contrasts to Denis' as it does not seem to represent autocratic or manipulative thinking and may agree with

the traditions described in the Igbo society by Harneit-Sievers (1998) and the discussion of a less autocratic manager than that claimed by Kiggundu (1983) or Beugré and Offodile (2001). Grace's story points to reasoning behind common decision-making among people who together, as a collective, set the rules of the game. In many ways, it represents the dynamics of the extended family, with a leader who is open to other opinions than her own and respects and values diversity.

However, what is the truth? Will it be told if queried or is observation the tool? Anyone who has witnessed the complete submission of village members to their chief or people meeting their sultan in a Muslim society, may think of an autocratic society. In Muslim society, it is noticeable how villagers, even their leaders, communicate with the sultan. Still bending down, they twist their heads upwards when talking so that he can comprehend their speech. It is difficult for a Westerner not to understand this as anything other than complete submission. On the other hand, in the village, when the villagers are presenting their problems and are listened to, meaning that communication takes place, their traditions and religious thinking regarding care and collective orientation enter the mind. Then, another conception prevails in the Western mind, that of common decision-making and consensus. This dimension probably needs further research. Such a conception reflects a combination of previous personal observations, experiences and conversation with a paramount chief in Ghana in the summer of 2012, partly in his palace, partly in his office.

Asians seem to revert to the socio-economic approach:

“... But from our side we try to keep our workers, I mean, as happy as we can, but again, it is a limit to what we can provide them with ... I mean, that would make a big difference, which we cannot afford to do, ah, not for everyone. Ah, (...3) medical, we do provide medical if somebody fall sick” (Toor, Asian).

Toor focuses on economic elements as the vital part of motivation, while for Denis, the indigenous Tanzanian, the employees are perceived as “them”, their Other. This kind of thinking could find meaning in Fanon’s *Black Skin, White Masks*, for both men represent Asian and African people subjected to colonialism (Fanon 1986).

Pandit wants to develop his people, but conditionally, and he refers to the lack of education among Tanzanians:

“To me the key issue is, is to have strong in house training. I spend a lot of money, and I would actually encourage companies like ourselves to have strong in house training and preferably link them with good universities to develop their career, when you see in that person, long term to remain in the company ...” (Pandit, Asian).

Pandit’s story reveals a socio-economic attitude, a way of thinking different from that of his Western counterpart. His staff must prove their loyalty before he is willing to support their development. In the West, it is done differently; security is guaranteed through contractual agreements and, as experienced, the employment contract and sub contract are usually sufficient to trigger educational support (Furnham 1997).

Sidhu presents a story with a balanced view of economics and human relations:

“... Not only the pay, but also the welfare of the workers because you have to, you pay them a good wage, also to have, take the care of the welfare of the people ... But if you just push, push, push for

worker output, output, output, all the time without consideration for the welfare of the workers, you will not get the results ... Balance so that you don't go bankrupt, you will have to get an output from the workers, at the same time you should also realise that they, they have also problems ..." (Sidhu, Asian).

Sidhu appears to assume moral responsibility for his workers and in his story he explains how one should not only push for results, but also consider the workers' welfare. Additionally, he builds a story of a patriarch who consciously supports his workers as much as he can with the aim of creating loyalty to his business.

" ... you will have to get an output from the workers, at the same time you should also realise that they, they have also problems, they might have special problems, I wouldn't have. So we have to take care of that kind. That creates loyalty I think ..." (Sidhu, Asian)

Kevin, an African expatriate, seems also to have a socio-economic perspective and is rather blunt in his reasoning:

"I think what I, what I have seen in my experience, is that financial motivation works best. You can give them other promotions ah, financial, titles" (Kevin, African expatriate).

There seems to be consistency in the thinking of the African expatriate and the Asian. However, Kevin adds a further benefit that is of value to the employee, but which costs nothing, a nice title.

5.2.3 "Nanny Culture" and decision-making

The traditional kinship method of decision-making is by consensus, which, as discussed may be less autocratic than perceived. It is correct that the Elders have the final say and one must be considerate when opposing their

decisions. However, their decisions are made after consultations and negotiations (interviews in Ghana with a future and a present King, June 2010). The informal relationship oriented kinship constructs in Tanzania indicate that the Ghanaian practice is transferable as the powers of chiefs “were often ritual, with minimal executive or judicial power” (Spalding 1996). During the time of the political Ujamaa, people in the villages were cared for by the government and this created some misunderstanding of the need to work for a living (Ibhawoh and Dibua 2003).

Did Ujamaa affect negatively the attitude to work? We may find an answer in what Bob says:

“... historical dependence and the social expectations in Tanzania still linger there, you know ... I am entitled to housing, I am entitled to transport, I am entitled ... so the nanny state culture has not gone away” (Bob, European Expatriate).

Bob constructs a story of how the state took care of the individual, families and income. It created what he calls a “nanny culture” reflecting the discussion by Ibhawoh and Dibua (2003) of village stories from the Ujamaa period. Some past effects obviously remain today, although it is not clear what are the consequences of Ujamaa and what is traditional culture. Cultural behaviour, not fully understood by Western managers, is perceived as the consequence of Ujamaa. In reality, this may be representations of hybrid positions or retrieval of traditional practices mixed with decision-making and reluctance to make individual decisions. As Bob notes:

“... Its not in the culture of Tanzanians to be individual leaders. They want to be part of the collective decision. They look for safety in numbers ...” (Bob, European expatriate)

The collective decision-making implies that the voice of many is heard. In other words, Bob asks the employee to distance himself from the traditional way of making decisions, in order to become a proper manager. It reveals a Western understanding of African decision-making and low appreciation – overlooking what he obviously knows – of the local cultural context.

However, Bob also claims that this is due to the Ujamaa period:

“... They have been brought up in society that is run by committee. It's a part of their social heritage. It stems from the days of socialism and to this day it remains a parcel, part and parcel of their, of their psyche... ..historical dependence and the social expectations in Tanzania still lingers there you know ...” (Bob, European expatriate)

However, Bob includes the historical aspects of kinship, a confused reasoning that does not recognise the difference between the political Ujamaa and the traditional kinship construct. Bob seems incapable of understanding fully traditional Tanzanian society and, consequently, he may not be able to explore it further.

Bob seems as well to overlook an important aspect of strategy – the internalisation of the strategy to be implemented. Only when the process is jointly worked out between top management and their staff is it possible to achieve a full implementation of the strategic intentions (Barney 2002). This is claimed to represent a challenge in many companies (Grant 2005, Mintzberg 1996). The strategies are worked out at a top level and then implemented after half-hearted briefings avoiding information that is supposedly for top managers' knowledge only (Grant 2005, Barney 2002, experience from international consultation 2003). Such behaviour boosts the power of the bosses and leads to many strategic revisions because

new elements are discovered by people in practice, as discussed by Mintzberg et al (1995).

Kinship behaviour also troubles the African expatriate Kevin, who appears influenced by Western thinking. In two stories he refers to traditional behaviour that may apply beyond Tanzania, and he seems to form his stories from a Western perspective. Kevin's stories are from a high speed production line context.

Consensus making:

"... this is a bit, may be a, unfortunate but the way we end up working here [in his factory], it sometime reaches, have to make decisions for people ... sometimes you are on a very tight time schedule and you see that the senior guys saying, and this guy saying something, and then literally what could have been decided in five minutes have taken an hour ... And at those points at critical points, I have to step in myself: Look guys, that's, we listen to everybody but one person has to make, take decisions now ..."
(Kevin, African expatriate)

In the workplace, when Kevin steps in, he interrupts the local cultural decision-making process as he wants to apply efficient work practices derived from Western thinking. Perhaps the staff is expecting him to step in and take responsibility as manager in the organisational hierarchy, or they want him to make decisions following the procedures of committees headed by bureaucrats during the Ujamaa period (Spalding 1996, Ibhawoh and Dibua 2003). Additionally, it could be that they want him to act like an Elder, to summarise their discussions and present a decision. It is possible that Kevin by his intervention prevented the employees from finding a good solution, the outcome of the traditional consensus procedures. This is a complex situation for all parties as Kevin is not a European, but an African

expatriate who supposedly knows African consensus thinking very well. On the other hand, given the context, for Kevin as manager this is not the right time for lengthy discussions when a high speed production line is waiting to restart.

Respect for the Elder:

“At family level, there is a lot of hierarchy that, the elder you are But at the work level, it is all equality. That’s what I feel. Maybe it is, which is a good thing if you work as equals ... but I mean, the guy on top needs to know when to take charge, and the guy, so (takes) time under him needs to know when to keep quite” (Kevin, African expatriate).

Kevin refers to the local hierarchy and the Elder. He is supposed to be conversant with the fact as mentioned that the Elder in the village usually speaks with authority, whilst in the factory he may be an ordinary worker. The older worker is still an Elder in Tanzanian society and in the eyes of his Tanzanian colleagues. The Elder is a difficult concept for a Westerner to grasp fully, and the image of the indisputable person remains a speculation, as this could be so, but after the common decision-making. It seems to be the case that the Elder receives different respect in African society than in the West. He or she is appreciated for having knowledge and experience (Gyekye 1996). However, as they leave their “third age” and enter the “fourth age”, when their physical powers fail, they become dependent upon their kin and lose their authority unless a son remains to secure this (Alber and Martin 2010).

From Kevin’s narration it would seem that he has difficulties managing his dual role: as a representative of the Western system and, at

the same time, as an African and part of the African system. A comparable story from Ghana tells how the manager, a factory owner and future King, very carefully avoided confrontation with the Elders in his workforce. He took them aside and talked quietly with them avoiding any open confrontation (field notes of conversations with Ghanaian director June 2012). When working in Sokoto in 2001 to 2005, one of the ordinary employees was the son of the Sultan of Sokoto, the highest ranking Muslim official in Nigeria and in the neighbouring countries. The son believed that he was untouchable and people were careful when dealing with him as he created uncertainty. A practical approach was found, but there was always something unsaid by those around him (diaries from the working period in Sokoto 2003).

There is fundamentally a different approach to decision-making. Africa, in general, represents broadly patriarchal societies; still, it is communal and consensus based (Dogbe, 1980, Awedoba, 2007). Western industries are hierarchical. Softer human relationship tools are applied to create commitment, such as organising work in teams, but efficient decision-making based on rational thinking is still expected (Furnham 1997). The above micro stories reveal the influence of both Orientalism and the low understanding of the kinship system in Tanzania. It is perhaps an understanding of the cultural phenomenon among Western expatriates, but not acceptance or adaption to the realities of living and working in Africa.

In this way, the dynamics of the family, the extended family and the tribe and tribalism become evident. There are no clear distinctions between these terms in Africa. Interviewing a woman in Accra, Ghana, in 2012, she

recalled how she grew up with her sisters and brothers in a village. The people in the village took care of them when her mother was not around, and they were cared for wherever they moved. They mixed together, her own sisters and brothers, with their parents, and her cousins, children of her aunts and uncles. The European distinctions between (nuclear) family and cousins were not made and they were all close family to her. The extended family represents another dimension of this research, which will increase understanding of kinship dynamics and how they may be explored.

5.2.4 Negotiations: how do Tanzanians communicate?

This topic is linked to consensus thinking above, and relates to what matters to Tanzanians in an organisational setting. It is possible to reveal a different way of viewing essential values.

The question concerns how people reason and act when negotiations become very pressing. As Stan remarks:

“... They [Tanzanians] are not, they don’t look at things the same as Europeans do ... in negotiations with the unions, all I would have to do is have the physical discipline to just listen, to, although I want to walk up then, get and walk away because what I am listening to is nonsense. They want to see that you are listening; they want to see that you are interested ... They want to hear you say; “Yes, I will consider it” even though you know that the answer is going to be NO ... And that has to be the first step. The first step is, is that you have to show respect ... You see, you have to be able to listen, you have to be able to give respect. And all rest, all the rest flows, flows that, from the respect aspect” (Stan, European expatriate).

Stan now constructs a story of how he as a culturally knowledgeable person configures his strategy to tackle negotiations with “them”, the “Other”. He characterises their negotiation proposals as “nonsense”, but from his understanding, though “they don’t look at things the same as Europeans do”, he must listen in and show respect. Stan allows “them” to talk and he will say”. The protocol is to “show respect”, “(be able to) listen”, “be able to give respect”, and say, “Yes, I will consider it”. Then, the rest will follow from this “respect aspect”, that is, *his solutions* are accepted.

The sense of an artificial respect, which is not embedded in human value, but a calculated consequence of an action, emerges in Stan’s story. He knows the culture very well as he is partly an insider. However, does he really respect his employees or does he treat them like children? And does he know how to behave in order to make them perform the way he wants? It is a story that may have similarities to Denis’s story below in which he sets the rules of the game. Both stories could be describing a form of manipulation.

Denis elaborates his views on negotiations and explains the rules of the game:

“... Yes, so essentially you have to understand them, and know how to tap their potentials. If you don’t, and that is even why, you go first negotiate it ... Because I know the rule of the game; talk to them, get them by, commit, implement, it is the same goal, you see ... Talk to them, get them in, after you get them in, however, tough the thing is, simplify it, look like, voluptuous, good, and then get them in, and then implement what you meant, you achieve the same targets. But one will be achieved with pain while you achieve them softly” (Denis, indigenous Tanzanian).

Denis explores the kinship characteristics and then the opportunities these offer to reach his target. The thinking of Denis, as a Tanzanian, and Stan, as a European with local knowledge, is not that different; they both set the rules of the game and manipulate “them”. It appears to be a calculated and distant stance. It seems to represent deep cultural knowledge used to dominate others with lesser resources; for examples see Orientalism and Foucault (Said 1979, Rabinow 2010).

5.2.5 Organisational kinship

The extended family is the core of the kinship construct, which also includes the larger community in the villages (Dogbe 1980, Awedoba 2007). Family, in the African sense of the word, is the extended family (Gyekye 1996). The nuclear family is melted into the extended family. Does this construct have a role in organisational life? And does it influence how people are communicating in their organisational roles?

According to Grace, one must also take the social environment into consideration when managing:

” ... You have to, you really have to ... because, you don’t live in isolation, you live with the people and you spend a lot, eight hours at work, then you spend time in the queue, by the time you get home, is already late, you have full dinner, you sleep, when you are sleeping home, your mind is resting ...” (Grace, indigenous Tanzanian).

Grace actually presents a social constructionist viewpoint, in which life is acted with others (Creswell 2013, Crotty 1998). She continues to say:

“... You should be happy, you should be able feel compassion, to feel happiness and sharing and rejoicing with the people that you spend your working time, instead of the sleeping time at home. But when you are here, you are concentrating on your work here, your colleagues so need to be happy at the office so quite, that is how, that’s my philosophy” (Grace, indigenous Tanzanian).

Grace refers to the extended family caring approach in her management role. The difference in values between Europe and Tanzania becomes clearer. In Europe, management is more personal distanced, with embedded efficiency and profit-thinking, whereas in Tanzania it is human relations oriented caring (Truss et al 1997, Zoogah 2009).

The social reality of the interviewee is reflected in her or his feeling of togetherness with people who are not even relatives, but colleagues in her office; in other words, her organisational social relations. These other people are not likely to be from her tribe as indicated by Ema, who also constructs stories about her organisational life and reflects on the tribal system and the extended family forces in her organisation and at home. In this way, Ema strengthens the construct of the extended family, as well as supports the thinking of Nyambegera (2002):

“knowing that this is one of us, I think it is, in a certain extent is still there, but it is not based on tribe, on the community, not on the tribe ... and similarly my children has been married to people [of] different tribes, different locality Tribal as such I don’t it has any room in Tanzania” (Ema, indigenous Tanzanian).

One may observe that social practices have changed and that people are open to new relationships (5.1.2, page 155). The question is how kinship construct can be utilised in formal organisations like a western industrial entity. Within the informal kinship organisation with its extended family, it is

assumed that there are skills and aptitudes. The two powerful discourses, Orientalism and kinship, are combined, and they may occur simultaneously some times in opposition to each other.

Asians also live within strong kinship systems and families evident, for example, in the caste system (Sharma 2005). The family construct is familiar to them as Pandit comments:

“I mean if I look at family, you know, local culture is more like, where here is more like a family. I believe you want to operate as a family, and a family is not just immediate family, it is all my employees and this is the way forward ... The Indians we are, more like a net, like more family ... And I see this benefit, and this is what I, I believe net, if we can have in the same way, and have bigger family with our employees as together as one family” (Pandit, Asian).

Pandit clearly sees the benefits of kinship and creates the structure of extended family within his company based on the assumption that the bond of loyalty will be transferred to the factory context. However, Pandit then adds an intriguing comment regarding the metaphor used to motivate his local staff:

“ ... Soft heart and family is all outside business, so they [Tanzanians] have to understand ... Business is business and home life is home life, that there they need differentiate that ...” (Pandit, Asian).

The family metaphor appears to function as a rational business tool only, deprived of the caring and communal aspect of kinship. In other words, it is a distrustful metaphor as the use of family is intended to appeal to the local population. Thus, it is a calculated action with no intention of trusting the local staff, rather manipulating them.

5.2.6 Teams

Teams are closely linked to the previous topic of kinship in organisations. Tanzanians and Westerners who understand the dynamics of the kinship system make use of extended family bonds, as this seems to have gained acceptance and understanding among their managers and staff. However, they do not call the concept “team”; rather, they know the dynamics of the extended family and apply the metaphor to engage the local staff. Provided the care is human relationship oriented and not a pragmatic tool, a different team could be developed.

This may facilitate a less formal leadership style as discussed by Thorsrud and Emery (1969). Thorsrud and Kanawaty (1981) explored in 1979 such a possibility in Tanzania and concluded that it would work. Elton Mayo may have formed his human relations theories from his experiences in colonies (Frenkel and Shenhav 2006).

However, do Tanzanians have any conception of team related to their cultural setting? Juma comments.

“We are together we are as one team, spirit ... Team spirit is there to lift each, ... Not to lift yourself, no, that’s lift each other to the top, that’s it ...”, (Juma, indigenous Tanzanian).

Juma has obviously attended western courses on teamwork and appears not to see that his family and extended family are driven by the dynamics that could represent the same characteristics.

Ema explains further the kinship forces:

“We [are] going into competition, is very high, and then cost is very high, the company doesn’t have, you know, sometimes we close it, you know, not close, but we don’t have production for some time, so

they [staff] understand ... I will not have survived if we had been working strictly on the, on the strict business without that kind of, kind of community or sympathy from the others [kinship bonding] ... But those who remain they remain purely on that one. They feel they should stay and make sure that we pull together is because of the commitment of all of us, the commitment of the workers, the commitment of the people I work with, I have been very, very transparent” (Ema, indigenous Tanzanian).

Ema’s story construction seems to reflect the kinship concept and the extended family collective characteristic. Like Western camaraderie and mutual loyalty, the locals express commitment by pulling together within kinship bonding. Ema underlines this togetherness, and the focus on a common task to be solved by the group.

Grace expands the construction of the extended family in organisations when she explains how she built her organisation:

“We employed three team members of staff, one was responsible for membership net booking, one was in charge of economics and policy desk, the other one was in charge of information and documentation. These people have grown together in the company. Now, we are together, we have a history of 10 years working together. That was my aim that I meet the people from Tanzania so that we can grow this [institution] together (Grace, indigenous Tanzanian).

Grace alludes to the Western concept of team, though she makes use of an expression that may be local, “grow together”, and brings in her perspective on time.

Denis, judging from observations when working together with him, has experience working with teams. During operational work he at times discusses difficult issues. Denis comments in the interview:

“I have a team, I am working together with my team and then I am presenting the issue to my team” (Denis, indigenous Tanzanian).

Denis then gives an interesting autobiographical account, explaining how he as a young man became leader of a group of people that he later understood as constituting a team:

“Because at that time I didn’t even know that it is a team, but, I, going through my education system, I came to learn later, actually is a western team, is a western terminology called team” (Denis, indigenous Tanzanian).

In this way, Denis realises that his understanding of the experiences he had as a young man could fit the western team construct. Could it be that non-Tanzanians see something that Tanzanians do not see, similarly to what Elton Mayo experienced when working in Africa?

Stan has worked many years in a capacity which is both external and internal to the local environment. He comments firmly when asked about teamwork:

“... I mean the extended family concept works, it is not especially family, it’s more, it is loyalty, it’s, it’s (...5), it’s a mm, loyalty ...” (Stan, European expatriate).

Stan points directly to the dynamics of the extended family and when searching for words, he emphasises loyalty. It seems to be the same concept as narrated by Ema above. People remained, they were loyal to her. Stan, as a European, also sees this as the family concept at work. It is possible that this represents the same phenomenon upon which Elton Mayo based his human relationship theories (Frenkel and Shenhav, 2006).

The modern team may actually contain strong representations of the African extended family.

Eventually it may be useful to emphasise some point that elucidates the Europeans' and South Africans' attitude towards indigenous Africans.

5.2.7 Orientalist expressions among Europeans

Expressions of the Orientalist view vary among white expatriates. On the one hand, those from Northern Europe have adopted ethically modified positions that appear, at least superficially, to be acceptable to the Tanzanians. On the other hand, some white expatriates, in particular the Afrikaners from South Africa, retain their former Apartheid discourse. This creates opposition both among Tanzanians and European expatriates.

The Orientalist view held by the Northern Europeans, however, is not removed but expressed more subtly and perhaps without any conscious awareness of the actual implication of what is being said. This seems to be captured in the story constructed by Stan which is cited in full on page 134 in section 4.5.2, but repeated here to support the analysis.

“... the problem is they, [the Tanzanians] don't apply entrepreneurial skills or channel the right direction ... in favour of their organisation ...” (Stan, European expatriate).

This micro story suggests that the narrator does not fully understand how to make use of local capabilities, which, nevertheless, he recognises are present. The European may lack the ability and cultural knowledge to channel local skills in the right direction. Stan leaves the choice of direction to the Tanzanians, but implicitly assumes that they understand the

complexity of modern industry. It is perhaps useful to be reminded of what Stan narrates (section 5.2.4, page 179). He is familiar with the kinship discourse and claims:

“ ... they [the Tanzanians] are not, they don't look at things the same [way] as Europeans do ...” (Stan, European expatriate).

Note how at this micro level Stan is careful to avoid using racist language and describes the problems he experiences when working in Tanzania as an outcome of different ways of thinking. He recognises that Tanzanians think differently from Europeans, that different perspectives guide them, but he does not claim that either perspective is superior. This is not the only instance when people talking about Tanzanians are careful to avoid accusations of racism. However, they are still thinking and, therefore, acting in a colonialist way, with all the assumptions about the various capabilities these differences (real or imagined, assumed or imposed) represent.

Bob constructs a story in which he is perceived by Tanzanians as just another human being:

“My own experience when I came to Tanzania was that black Africans barely noticed that they were working with a white man ...” (Bob, European expatriate).

This language may serve as a counterforce to racism and acceptance by the Northern European of racial difference as representing equality. During Tanzania's colonial past, communities enjoyed relative independence on the periphery (Spalding 1996), leaving perhaps a legacy of native empowerment. As a consequence, distinctions between Tanzanians and Northern Europeans may not have been as pronounced as in communities

that were more strongly governed by colonialists. On the other hand, it created difficulties for the white South Africans who

“... didn’t easily come to terms with, the degree of empowerment and self-confidence of the indigenous African population in countries that have not experienced white domination ...” (Bob, European expatriate).

South Africans are described as explicitly more racist. One of the indigenous Tanzanians comments:

“..... South Africa, those one are trying to be like Africans though to some extent they are not ... you could feel the person concentrate to the white person, than you, the black ... when even they feel like want to give assistance, but the person doesn’t concentrate with you ...” (Edina, indigenous Tanzanian)

In this case, the South African is an Afrikaner, i.e. of Dutch origin. Such behaviour has been noted among Afrikaners. Their behaviour represents intrinsic racism that Appiah (1992) defines in order to differentiate morally between people of different races. This makes Afrikaners treat Africans worse than they otherwise would have done; they regard them as people of different moral standards. Appiah describes this as a moral error and even cognitive incapacity (Appiah 1992). European expatriates similarly talk about Afrikaners in a way that implies their behaviour has not changed since the time of Apartheid:

“... I don’t think they have changed, I think it’s just the way they are ...” (Lars, European expatriate)

The European expatriate seems to be in a transitional phase between egalitarianism and colonialism; he still makes Orientalist references, although these are subtler as when concluding a story about

Tanzanians: “... so, yeah, things are a bit slow ...” (Lars, European expatriate).

In this transitional phase Europeans both recognise the existence of the local culture and the dynamics of the extended family, but they also find it difficult to comprehend.

5.3 CHAPTER SUMMARIES

The external societal topics influence the stories constructed as internal organisational ones. Consequently, the topics reappear in both categories. This chapter summarises the constructed stories and may represent less richness and like the summary in chapter 4 serve only to offer an overview that does not constitute the basis for further reflections or theorisations.

5.3.1 Societal topics

The experience of the Ujamaa political programme seems to have a central part in everyone's memory. It is the story of strong exercise of power by a president who was very much appreciated by the Tanzanians (Ibhawoh and Dibua 2003). Tribalism, or in this case the clustering of tribes in some regions, was ended and families were separated and the extended family construct, the core of kinship, was threatened. The Tanzanians as actors and the Europeans as observers naturally perceive the consequences differently, though their references are both to the socialist years. This discourse penetrates several topics, both the external societal and the internal organisational. The word *Ujamaa* is intrinsically linked to the traditional kinship construct. However, the actions of the first president of the independent Tanzania have created new meaning and today it appears

that people think of the political and socialist Ujamaa when they construct their stories.

The Tanzanians praise President Nyerere despite the failure of his political Ujamaa and are reluctant to criticise the corruption among his administrators who managed the political programme and the way they enriched themselves. The results of Ujamaa can be viewed as the success of one class exploiting another, or the opposite result of what President Nyerere may have wanted. On the other hand, he succeeded in dissolving tribalism, and whilst threatening the bonds of the extended family, he created new cross-tribal relations that even cut across religious beliefs. This outcome seems to resemble the historical condition within the social web of kinship and may revive the old pattern. The Tanzanians construct stories that favour this outcome.

The Westerner who experienced the Ujamaa period constructs stories of decay and destruction of the extended family. The Tanzanians in their stories suggest that they defied the Ujamaa programme and maintained and expanded their web of social contacts as indicated above. When the Westerner narrates that "...nobody is going to break the African culture... ", he is probably referring to today's position of the extended family. The Tanzanians underline the influence of the extended family and the Westerners observe its dynamics.

The European's understanding of the kinship construct varies from what appears to deep insight to superficial understanding. This leads to insightful storytelling. Nevertheless, the stories still reveal an embedded

Orientalist discourse, either from the power position of the dominant leader or the exploitation of the rules of the game to take advantage of Tanzanians. Among others, stories are constructed from the observation of the kinship dynamics and bonding, and imply biased behaviour in organisations. It is perhaps the concept of sharing that represents the most difficult part for a Westerner to understand. Sharing is a compulsory element of the kinship construct and is linked to family affairs, the big events in life, like birth, marriage and death. The Europeans tend to misunderstand this social praxis and construct stories of Tanzanians' biased organisational behaviour. A common element of almost all the stories of the Europeans is their lack of historical and cultural knowledge. They seem to confuse the historical *Ujamaa*, which means 'togetherness', with the socialist Ujamaa, which for Tanzanians is understood as the "Kulak Ujamaa", or the "socialist years". It may be the historical construct as discussed above that today has been revived.

The poor educational infrastructure seems to strengthen the Orientalist story constructions by the Western oriented managers. Negative qualities are highlighted and play a dominant role resulting in story constructions about the poorly educated and lazy Tanzanian who relies on the 'nanny' state. This has consequences even when managerial positions are evaluated. However, once the manager or staff member has been subjected to Western oriented learning abroad, or 'on the job' training in the Western oriented organisations, he is presented as qualified. This appears as well positioned within the Orientalist discourse and them topics re-emerge in the next chapter as internal topics. On the other hand, it seems

revealed that all interviewees, and in particular Europeans may be in transitional phases influenced by their local, social environment.

5.3.2 Organisational topics

The perceptions of Tanzanian work behaviour and attitude to work among Europeans and Asians serve to strengthen the image of the lazy and unfocused Tanzanian. Similar stories are constructed by a group of Tanzanian entrepreneurial-oriented managers, a small elite group. They compare Tanzanians to Europeans and find that the Tanzanians lack initiative and drive in their work. Such stories find confirmation in the research of Beugré and Offodile (2001). The stories may also reflect the phenomenon described by Fanon, namely, the Tanzanian positions himself as a European. Some Western oriented managers construct a story of the urban Tanzanian who has drive and the rural Tanzanian without drive. The reason behind this is complex and may involve lack of industrial understanding among Tanzanians. Such understanding may increase when Tanzanians live in an urban setting.

Western oriented managers construct different stories of what motivates Tanzanians. Both Europeans and Asians seem to promote financial reward as a means of motivating staff and the more artificial conferment of job titles. Tanzanians, in comparison, seek to construct other reasons. They derive inspiration from their kinship and link motivation to satisfaction factors similar to those within its communal nature – involvement and respect. The most transformed Europeans construct similar stories. However, stories of manipulation are constructed that can

hardly sustain mutual trust between parties. The Asians in particular use a family metaphor intended to attract and motivate their Tanzanian staff, but it is revealed as a tool to deceive Tanzanians.

The social dependency of Tanzanians during the Ujamaa era seems to give nourishment to their stories of the Tanzanian who expects benefits from others without working for it. Both European and Tanzanian managers construct such stories. The decision-making process of the Ujamaa political programme is frequently combined with that of the communal approach of traditional society. The decisions during the Ujamaa period were made in committees and the decision-making in the historical setting was a collective process. There are superficial similarities: one is enforced and the other is on a voluntary basis. The collective decisions take time, and when made at the production line, this creates frustration for the Western oriented manager who tends to intervene and halt the consensus process. Outside the context of the production line, such interventions may be constructed as untimely and preventing a qualified and beneficial decision-making process.

The complexity of negotiating with Tanzanians has led Europeans and some Tanzanians to construct histories in line with game theory. They set rules and control the outcome, thus exploiting Tanzanians and exposing their dominant roles as managers. This can be viewed as arrogant management behaviour and the exercise of Foucauldian power well inside the Orientalist discourse.

The kinship construct re-appears in many of the constructed stories. It is noteworthy how the Europeans reject its value and some Tanzanians reject its influence in organisations. On the other hand, some Tanzanians when working in organisations which do not employ Europeans apply knowledge from the kinship construct in their roles as managers. The organisations are still organised and influenced by the Western construct, although expressions and terms from the kinship construct are still used.

Both Tanzanians and Europeans understand the term “team” as belonging to Western management discourse. Still, the claim is that Elton Mayo developed his Human Relation theories which incorporated his experiences from Ghana. The stories constructed by the Tanzanians support this claim or reveal aspects that can be explored further.

The next chapter will explore the findings and apply an analysis of the binary dimensions to identify the discourses applied in management and their commensurable dimensions. It suggests an organisational proposition of ways by which organisations can (or could if they don't already) create harmonious, reflective organisations.

6.0 ANALYSIS THREE – MANAGERIAL DISCOURSES IN AN ORGANISATIONAL CONTEXT

The purpose of this chapter is to identify the management discourses in use by the interviewees and how these may contain commensurable dimensions that can then be explored further in the chapters that follow.

The findings are analysed in Chapters 4 to 6. Chapter 4 presents the opinions of the interviewees, that is, how they perceive each other and the management team. Three categories of managers were interviewed: European expatriates, Asians (people of primarily Indian origin) and indigenous Tanzanians. The findings indicated that the term ‘expatriate’ still defines a person at the top level of an organisation despite the influx of new types of expatriates. When the ethnic groups judged themselves, each group felt superior to the ‘others’. Such an attitude only partly prevailed when two group interviews were conducted. A group of Tanzanians and a group of Europeans discussed the composition of a management group. The stories in Chapter 4 serve as a useful background to understanding the stories in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5 discusses the external strategic societal and internal operational topics and summarises their characteristics. For the interviewees these topics were the most important; they mattered most in their working lives and directly reflected their reality. In Chapter 5, the characteristics of these topics are summarised in section 5.3.1, societal themes, and 5.3.2, organisational topics (pages 190 and 193). This method

of identifying and organising the topics is based on contemporary approaches to strategy (Grant 2002).

Chapter 6 shifts the focus from topics to the discourses in use by the interviewees. The various dimensions are theorised and analytic work on the micro stories are conducted. From this analytic work, it is possible to compare the incommensurable and commensurable dimensions and the derived value systems. This will hopefully assist understanding and at the same time indicate the richness of the interview text.

In the following section, the 'Western' and 'Kinship' discourses will be compared with a view to identifying and illustrating the (sometimes stark) differences between them. It is important even before such comparisons are considered to be aware that ethnicity and discourse may not be linked in any direct or intuitive way. For example, there is no assumption that a western person will necessarily or inevitably use a Western discourse. Similarly, there is no necessary link between a Tanzanian and a Kinship discourse. In other words, both discourses are deployed by interviewees and not necessarily according to their ethnicity.

The use of discourses may not necessarily be linked to ethnicity rather to how the influence of the discourses makes people behave differently. It is an opposition among some Tanzanians towards the Western management discourse and it is possible to see how they make reference to their kinship discourse in management elucidated in sections 6.1.1 and 6.1.2 below.

6.1.1 Tanzanians opposing Western knowledge

Below are presented story constructions and interpretations that offer examples of how Tanzanians oppose the (European) expatriates' knowledge and how their actions represent independence and the ability to reflect. They are also positioning themselves on an equal level with expatriates. For the sake of the argument, some micro stories represent repetitions from chapter 4 and 5. However, the purpose and use of the micro stories are not to identify discourses, but to support the construction of a Kinship or Contractual oriented management discourse.

Grace describes her experience working with representatives of foreign companies offering organisational advice as part of the extensive foreign aid programme in Tanzania. She adopted a mix of approaches:

"... What I thought was very interesting, the partnership with the Danish people is that they came, they asked us what would like us to do together ..." (Grace, indigenous Tanzanian).

She liked this approach for a particular reason:

"... I found that most refreshing because with other partners you find that they come with pre-conceived ideas that Grace now do A, B, C, D and then you will get there ..." (Grace Indigenous Tanzanian).

Grace evaluates the two approaches and rejects that of her previous foreign employer representing a typical Orientalist view, the knowledgeable Westerner telling locals what to do. Grace seems to prefer the Danish approach. She is able to contribute to knowledge and narrates what appears to be a vital part of the kinship discourse – recognition:

"... you don't want to think that you are just there as part of a machine, you want to (...3) your contribution to be recognised ..." (Grace, indigenous Tanzanian).

Grace is not the only interviewee who judges Westerners. Godwin remarks:

“... when I see a white expatriate working in Tanzania for example, what I don’t see he is doing a miracle or he is doing something that may be a local cannot do ...” (Godwin, indigenous Tanzanian).

Through this narration Godwin positions himself as equal to the Western white expatriate and degrades the latter from his assumed position of superiority.

Denis appears to judge the expatriate’s knowledge by referring to his experience with his former boss who

“... would read something, let say about emotional intelligence, (.3), after reading that thing he would like to find a cliché or (four) and cream it, so that when he, she makes the speech, she refers to that cliché. For me this does not work, the most important thing is to grasp the learning in the contemporary management theories ...” (Denis, indigenous Tanzanian)

The change of pronoun may indicate a gender bias. When he makes a negative statement the male pronoun is changed to the female pronoun. Misogynistic views are relatively common among Africans (interview with a Ghanaian King July 2012).

Juma, another indigenous Tanzanian joins Denis in his evaluation of the expatriate:

“... So any expatriate I think him is a human being coming from another area which is more developed ...” (Juma, indigenous Tanzanian)

Then, Juma expands his statement and enters into the Orientalist discourse positioning himself as being in need of Western knowledge:

“... Actually I view expatriates as a people which, advance knowledge, in such a way they are coming here to transfer that knowledge to the needed people, and the needed people we are [the] ones, the Africans ...” (Juma, indigenous Tanzanian).

Juma’s position appears complex and may be interpreted in several ways. It may be relevant to the thinking of Fanon in *Black Skin, White Masks* (1986), but it may also be a sober observation of the needs of his staff, and not necessarily of his own. Bob (European expatriate) is actually reasoning along this line when he narrates about his first time in Tanzania.

The Tanzanian managers’ opposition to the Western discourse may be part of the explanation of why they adopt their own local discourse when they are conducting management in their organisations.

6.1.2 Tanzanians making use of their unique management language

This section will investigate whether indigenous Tanzanians make use of kinship construct or extended family when they are conducting their management roles.

Grace, the indigenous Tanzanian, uses kinship knowledge in her Western organisation. When asked whether she makes use of her kinship knowledge in managing, she responds: *“... You have to, you really have to ...”* (Grace, indigenous Tanzanian). Grace offers insight into her reasoning:

“... because, you don’t live in isolation, you live with the people and you spend a lot, eight hours at work. You should be happy, you should be able to feel compassion, to happy family feel happiness and sharing and rejoicing with the people that you spend your working time, instead of the sleeping time at home ... but when you are here, you are concentrating on your work here, your colleagues so need to be happy at the office so quite, that is how, that’s my philosophy” (Grace, indigenous Tanzanian).

In this narration there are references to Grace's family life, comparing the people in her office with an extended family. This can be perceived as representative of the subaltern making use of her own language constructs. Grace views work in relation to her social life as part of an extended family.

Grace's perception of the socialist years is different from that of the expatriates and seems to reflect kinship dynamics:

"... say the manner we were brought up together, you mixing the brotherhood, you know we were socialist country for 30 years ..."
(Grace, indigenous Tanzanian)

Grace's story reveals her appreciation of the change during the Ujamaa political period and how it strengthened kinship through brotherhood, or as it may be perceived, the mixing of tribes. Brotherhood is a typical word used in many African countries to express a sense of belonging, either as tribal partners or even based, in more general terms, on relationships between members of the same group. In this case, it appears to be a confirmation of kinship ties.

Grace uses an intriguing mix of terms when she wants to elaborate on her work, and this is indicative of the richness of the word tribe that represents tradition. The terms she uses are from her own language constructs: *"... so take the tradition of, I mean take the tribe ..."* (Grace, indigenous Tanzanian). She continues to confirm how kinship culture constitutes a part of a manager's life, and in her work she makes use of the local term to define her role:

"... people do not forget their culture, in their management positions, they relate to their superiors in the manner that they would do if elders in their family ..." (Grace, indigenous Tanzanian)

The 'elders' are in a unique leadership position in the African family. Grace positions herself as an 'elder', and this places her in a strong position which carries respect and is well understood by her staff.

Off the record, and written down as field notes, Grace explains how she is organising her office; she has an open door policy and is accessible to everyone whenever they feel like talking to her. This approach to work is reflected in how she describes her management role:

"... here at our institution they look at me as an elder sister, for the men, and for the young girls that are around they look to me as a mama, and they look for me because don't call me executive director, they don't call me Mrs Grace, they call me mama, that is mother ..." (Grace, indigenous Tanzanian).

For Grace, the business organisation is conceptualised as an extended family.

Grace is not the only person who can be understood as influenced by the kinship discourse. Ema shares this way of reasoning and is quite clear when she narrates:

"... if I look at my own organisation here ...I will not have survived if we had been working strictly on the, on the strict business without that kind of, kind of community or sympathy from the others ..." (Ema, indigenous Tanzanian).

"Strict business" is interpreted to mean Western business construct. Ema applies the communal kinship approach as her survival tool and in her mind the reason why it worked

"... is because of the commitment of all of us, the commitment of the workers, the commitment of the people I work with ...". (Ema, indigenous Tanzanian).

However, not all of the staff felt a sense of commitment when problems were experienced in her company, although a sufficient number did:

“... Of course it was not a hundred, it is not a hundred per cent. But those who remain they remain purely on that one. They felt they should stay and make sure that we pull together ...” (Ema, indigenous Tanzanian).

Ema has a specific approach:

“...I have been very, very transparent. ... And when we do well, and we also show it ...” (Ema, indigenous Tanzanian).

This approach represents another dimension of the kinship construct. It does not represent an autocratic approach, but rather one which is open and inclusive.

Common to the environment of the indigenous Tanzanians narrating in this section is the fact that they are not in organisations with expatriates or Asians who may subvert the local kinship culture. It seems reasonable to conclude that there is a distinct local management discourse derived from the kinship discourse.

The next step is to look closer at the discourses in use among the senior managers and include the Western oriented senior managers.

6.1.3 Identification of two discourses (value systems)

People use different references when communicating in a management context. The Western expatriates tend to use a rational and economic language, while the Tanzanians' indigenous language construct tend to be emotional and inclusive. Both discourses contain organisational knowledge, but are expressed differently by the actors. Table 6.1.3 (page 205) is a

construct of the languages used by the Western expatriates and the indigenous Tanzanians to express their various roles when in management. It is inspired by Antweiler (1998) and his approach to elicit, document and analyse local knowledge. The management role is constructed from Western organisational theory.

Table 6.1.3 Identification of two discourses (Colour codes: Contractual – Kinship)

Management roles	Contractual discourse		Kinship discourse		Comments
	Contractual discourse	Supporting quotes (Micro stories)	Kinship discourse	Supporting quotes (Tanzanian micro stories)	
(Western/Contractual concepts - Mintzberg, 1995, Grant, 2005, Furnham, 1997)					Essential difference in the value system.
The leader	The manager	<i>"... the guy on top needs to know when to take charge ... and the guy under him needs to know when to keep quiet"</i>	The Elder	<i>" ... act as if an Elder ... here at our institution they look at me as an elder sister, for the men, and for the young girls that are around they look to me as a mama, ... because don't call me executive director"</i>	Contractual: Hierarchical, role definitions Kinship: Internalised implicit meaning of Elder and other family members. Used as management tool People inherently know the rules.
Decision-making	Individualistic	<i>"it is not in the culture of Tanzanians to be individual leaders. They want to be part of the collective decision"</i>	Consensus/collective	<i>"I would involve them ... their ideas are respected"</i>	Contractual: Incapable of seeing Tanzanian leadership ability Kinship: involvement and respect as part of communal thinking
Organisation	Contract	<i>" ... I mean the extended family concept works ..." But: " ... Soft heart and family is all outside business, so they have to understand ... business is business and home life is home life ..."</i>	Extended family	<i>" ... people do not forget their culture, in their management positions ... You should be happy, you should be able feel compassion, to feel happiness and sharing and rejoicing with the people that you spend your working time "</i>	Contractual: Rational business thinking. Kinship: Cultural bonding, compassion, humour
Motivation	Economic	<i>"I think what I have seen in my experience, is that financial motivation works best ...and you do get Tanzanians in there who are really focused ... I guess the fact they get rewarded ..."</i>	Commitment	<i>" ... you don't live in isolation ...", and "...They feel [her staff] they should stay and make sure that we pull together ... is because of the commitment of all of us ..."</i>	Contractual: Economic awards. Kinship: Commitment, internalised collectivism

The understanding of roles is based upon Western concepts. For example, 'leader' is understood as manager in Western discourse and as 'elder' in the kinship discourse. The list is not complete, but are indicative samples to show how indigenous Tanzanians express and act in their management roles.

In conclusion, Western organisational language is termed "Contractual discourse" and can be used to illustrate the Western language used in communication. The language of indigenous Tanzanians is named "Kinship discourse" and its use can be illustrated in communication. Capital letters are used to distinguish the use of discourses from a more general use of the terms contractual and kinship.

6.1.4 Managers speaking in their native language of Kiswahili

This topic will reveal affective discussions among Tanzanian managers as, for example, the evening dinner in December 2012, which was attended by management employees in the company I worked for. There were three Europeans and five Tanzanian managers, and I discreetly took notes during the dinner that took place in an informal setting. The Tanzanians jokingly tested the language knowledge of the expatriates and particularly myself as a newcomer. Then, I questioned why the teaching in schools and universities was not conducted in English. The most senior Tanzanian, indeed, a person of importance inside and outside the company, leaned forward and said in a serious tone:

'You see Kiswahili is not yet fully developed as a language and it is too costly to develop the necessary tools like dictionaries and

textbooks to support it. And we don't have the mathematical words for spread sheets developed' (Juma, indigenous Tanzanian).

When Juma spoke he sought the right words, and asked his Tanzanian colleagues in Kiswahili for assistance to find the best English terms.

When this conversation was mentioned to Professor Brock-Utne, she immediately pointed to the computer tools available and her experience in the LOITSA project (2010). She speaks Kiswahili on an academic level. This discussion indicates that Juma's claim contradicts that of Mulokozi, head of the Kiswahili Research Institute at Dar es Salaam University:

"... even educated Tanzanians are more comfortable speaking Kiswahili than English" (Mulokozi 2002:5)

The dinner discussion adds strength to the claim that Tanzanians can speak in the manner Spivak theorises (Landry and Maclean, 1996). They could very well have used Kiswahili to express themselves in the interviews of this study, but my lack of Kiswahili knowledge prevented them from doing so. Consequently, Tanzanians are able to construct their own unique management language from their kinship experience and can express this in their local language of Kiswahili. They do not need to source foreign knowledge or language constructs.

6.2 BINARY DIMENSIONS

Examination and analysis of the binary dimensions may further explain the differences in the language systems. This reveals commensurable and non-commensurable dimensions that can lead to mutual understanding

between the users of the two discourses and increase their sense making. Examination of binary dimensions is considered as useful and is discussed by both Jack and Westwood (2006) and Frenkel and Shenhav (2006).

6.2.1 Verifications of binary dimensions

In this study the expression binary 'dimension' is applied as the dimensions vary from being purely antonymous, such as 'active' or 'passive', to needing analytic reflections to be understood, such as 'the manager' and the 'elder'. Whereas manager is understood to mean leader in Western management, the elder connotes family, a relationship Westerners do not want to see in their organisations (interview text quoted in table 6.2.2.1, page 209). The Western manager may seek organisational power to exercise in a management capacity, whereas the 'elder' represents a traditional leader (Furnham 1997, Awedoba 2005).

6.2.2 The use of discourses compared

This subsection aims to compare how the interviewees view some management roles. The Contractual discourse and the Kinship discourse are compared by using micro stories from the research text. Some of these may have appeared earlier in a different context and with another intent. This discussion is presented in two forms. The first form is Table 6.2.2.1 containing and comparing (between Contractual and Kinship discourses) short extracts illustrating three areas – 'Management philosophy', Management practice and issues around 'loyalty and commitment'. The relevance and import of the different discourses is then discussed after the table itself.

When considering Westerners 'speaking' in the context of management, one should be aware that they represent managers in transformation, in the sense that for a long time they have been living and working in either Tanzania or another Sub-Saharan country. Together with influence from their social environment in Europe, this experience has influenced them and the opposition to the soft management approach as discussed by Truss et al. (1997) is likely weakened.

Table 6.2.2.1 Comparisons of the language systems in the discourses
(Colour codes: **Contractual** – **Kinship**)

Language	Supporting quotes
Management Philosophy	
Kinship:	<i>" ... people do not forget their culture , in their management positions ... you should be happy, you should be able to feel compassion ... sharing and rejoicing with the people you spend your working time with ... your colleagues also need to be happy at the office ...", (K1)</i>
Contractual:	<i>" ... I mean the extended family concept works ... Soft heart and family is all outside business, so they have to understand ... business is business and home life is home life ..." (C1)</i>
Conducting the manager role:	
Kinship:	<i>" ... her at our institution they look at me as an elder sister, for the men ... for the young girls ... they look at me as mama ... they relate to their superiors in the that they would if elders in their family ..." (K2)</i>
Contractual:	<i>" ... the guy on top needs to know when to take charge ... and the guy under him needs to know when to keep quite" (C2)</i>
Loyalty and commitment:	
Kinship:	<i>" ... is because of the commitment of all of us, the commitment of the workers, the commitment of the people I work with ... I will not have survived if we had been working strictly on the strict business without that kind of, kind of community or sympathy from the others ..."</i>
Contractual:	<i>" ...I think what I have seen in my experience, is that financial motivation works best ..." (C3)</i>

In terms of Management Philosophy, we can see that within a kinship culture (K1), sharing and celebrating good things is endemic whether it is in the workplace or in the community or in the home. In the Western discourse we see how the speaker (C1) asserts very firmly that

‘business is business and home is home’ and that these two domains should not be mixed.

Turning now to conduct in the workplace. Here (K2) the speaker explains how relationships outside the workplace persist and are drawn on within it. So an older female is respected significantly by virtue of her seniority in age not necessarily in position in the company. This taken-for-granted respect occasioned by age and status outside the organisation is very different to the source of authority and entitlement to respect in Western discourse. In the Western discourse (C2) the reason and need for compliance and obedience is contained entirely within the position as ‘manager’ irrespective of the role holder’s age or experience or wisdom accrued in other contexts.

Finally, there is an interesting difference between the discourses in terms of loyalty and commitment to the organisation. In K3 the sense of shared destiny is very strong and again permeates the organisational boundaries. The motivation to support each other and to collaborate to achieve common goals is very strong. Compare this to C3 where the main or indeed the only motivating factor to generate loyalty or commitment to the task is financial reward. This assumption amongst western managers arises in the management philosophy and is understandable in that context but in the Tanzania context it seems, money is not the only and may be a very small part of what motivates employees. Perhaps drawing on the inherent loyalty that pervades the whole lives of the local workforce would be a more ‘productive’ and successful approach to take. However, it needs

to be added; some Tanzanians seem only to apply the Kinship discourse when there are no Asians or Europeans present in their organisations.

The influence of Kiswahili is not examined in the present study due to the researcher's lack of familiarity with this language, and not because of Tanzanians' inability to use it when conducting business in their management roles. The Tanzanians' ability to adopt kinship constructs in organisations is evident only when they control the arena, i.e. there are no Europeans in these organisations. In other words, one may argue that the Tanzanians must be allowed to practise their Kinship discourse.

The two discourses may contain commensurable dimensions in the sense that they reveal common value expressions. These are fundamental in how we view and approach each other (Furnham, 1997). The key assumption is that an understanding of such dimensions will facilitate the development of a common space of interaction and knowledge sharing. In order to illustrate the commensurability, it is necessary to introduce a certain organisational context, the idea of industrial organisation. The organisational context influences the language in use (Philips and Hardy, 2002). An industrial organisation will usually cover several organisational functions like production, maintenance, accounts, product development and sales. The functions will vary – strict product control, routine work, demanding tasks and human relationships as in sales and marketing departments. These departments may benefit from being organised differently as they usually are less hierarchically organised (Mintzberg, 1995, Andersen and Sæther, 2002). The first organisational context depicted in table 6.2.2.1 (page 209) consists of the dimensions of

production in contrast to the demanding organisational form such as the dimensions of sales and market organisations. The latter typically contain a complex set of human relationships and creative, demanding dimensions. By comparing micro stories from Western and Tanzanian thinking, incommensurable and commensurable dimensions emerge.

Table 6.2.2.2 Overview of commensurable dimensions in the discourses
(Colour codes: **Kinship language**, **commensurable dimension**, **Contractual language**)

Discourse	Characteristics and theoretical concepts	Comments and references to literature	
		Literature/interview reference	Micro stories from research
Machine bureaucracy (production line)			
Kinship	Informal	People in the organisation inherently know the procedures that are inclusive and promote discussion and diversity.	<i>"... they relate to their superiors in the that [way] they would if elders in their family ..."</i>
Commensurability	Incommensurable dimensions	The claim of autocratic attitude among chiefs (Beugré and Offodile, 2001), and counterclaim of democratic process in Igbo society, (Harneit-Sievers, 1998). interview Ghanaian King, 2012).	Incommensurable dimensions in the micro stories: <i>" ...You know that international companies have to follow procedures and policies ..."</i>
Contractual	Formal bureaucracy	Adapted to strict production and quality control, (Andersen and Sæther, 2002, Mintzberg, 1995)	<i>" ... the guy on top needs to know when to take charge ... and the guy under him needs to know when to keep quiet"</i>
Creative, demanding and autonomous work groups (strategic marketing, product development, customer interactions)			
Kinship	Kinship and extended family – the space for social relationships and the core of African societies	Spalding, 1996, Dogbe, 1980, Gyekye, 1996, Awedoba, 2007, Owusu-Frempong, 2005, Ghana Development Report, Kinship (UNDP), 2007	<i>" ... people do not forget their culture , in their management positions ... we have system where, views are respected, their ideas are respected ... here at out institution they look at me as an elder sister, for the men ...", and "... I will not have survived if we had been working strictly on the strict business without that kind of, kind of community or sympathy from the others ..."</i>
Commensurability	Commensurable dimensions	Commensurable dimensions in the micro stories and in Eastern (Japanese) and Western literature	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Respect- Trust- Loyalty- Empathy- Empowerment- Equality
Contractual	Soft or Human Relation management approach and views on the human being/values – generally subject of rhetoric among Western managers (Truss et al, 1997)	Truss et al, 1997, Soft and Hard Model of Human Resource Management Democratisation at work, (Thorsrud and Emery, 1969, Thorsrud, 1978). Testing in Tanzania, (Kanawaty and Thorsrud, 1981). Missionary organisation (Mintzberg et al., 1996). Achievements in knowledge adhocracies, (Andersen and Sæther, 2002)	<i>" ... I mean the extended family concept works ... it is not especially family, it's more, it is loyalty ... it is built through trust and empathy ... people need respect, they need to be treated as equals, it's not about money, it's about respect and empowerment"</i>

The machine bureaucracy may represent the organisation in production departments and around production lines with strict quality

control. In the Western mind, this is expressed as the demand for formal rules and regulations and, one may assume, a formal, hierarchical organisation. The Tanzanians think in terms of family context and, implicitly, the less formal organisation. It is a low degree of perceived commensurable dimensions within such frameworks. However, this perception changes when the character of work changes from machine orientation to human relation tasks such as work in demanding human-oriented environments.

The commensurable part of the local discourses is expressed in such values as 'respect', 'trust', 'loyalty', 'empathy', 'empowerment' and 'equality'. These are characteristics of values that can be found within human relation management theories, democratisation at work, (Thorsrud, 1978) and in relation to the characteristics of the kinship construct (Dogbe, 1980, Awedoba, 2007). These commensurable dimensions exist in the same organisational context. However, it must be noted that none of the Western expatriates worked in the Western-influenced organisations that led to the identification of the Kinship discourse. Consequently, no Europeans were present to intervene and oppose such reasoning and practice among the indigenous Tanzanians. The discourse analysis indicates that they would have rejected the kinship constructs.

6.2.3 Organisational context

The organisational context must allow the process to create understanding of the Contractual and Kinship discourse among the multi-cultural groups of

top managers. Li and Umemoto (2013) discuss learning in autonomous working groups. It takes place between students of different cultural origin. Learning occurs in autonomous working groups, which implies that the learners take responsibility for their learning (Holec 1981, referred by Li and Umemoto 2013). The process of learning in multicultural groups that Li and Umemoto (2013) discuss is very similar to the position in a multicultural management group. This group consists of the managers who together make vital decisions on behalf of the company and specific decisions in their areas of responsibility. The character of the work in management groups consequently appears to be close to that in an autonomous working group.

The management groups are to a certain extent free to frame their own operation and may operate autonomously. The question arises as to how they organise their roles between themselves and in their daily operations create the space that enables them to understand each other's discourses, the Contractual and the Kinship. Mintzberg et al. (1995) focus on flexibility in organisations and discuss the missionary organisation, what holds it together, and consider its coordination. They suggest that coordination and control represent "the standardisation of norms, the sharing of values and beliefs among all members" (Mintzberg et al 1995:352). Arguably, the bridging of the value sets which are embedded in attitude and behaviour may represent a similar challenge to the organisational members as for participants in a missionary organisation.

Socialised networking is built upon face-to-face contact and it appears that informal organisations satisfy the emotional needs of the

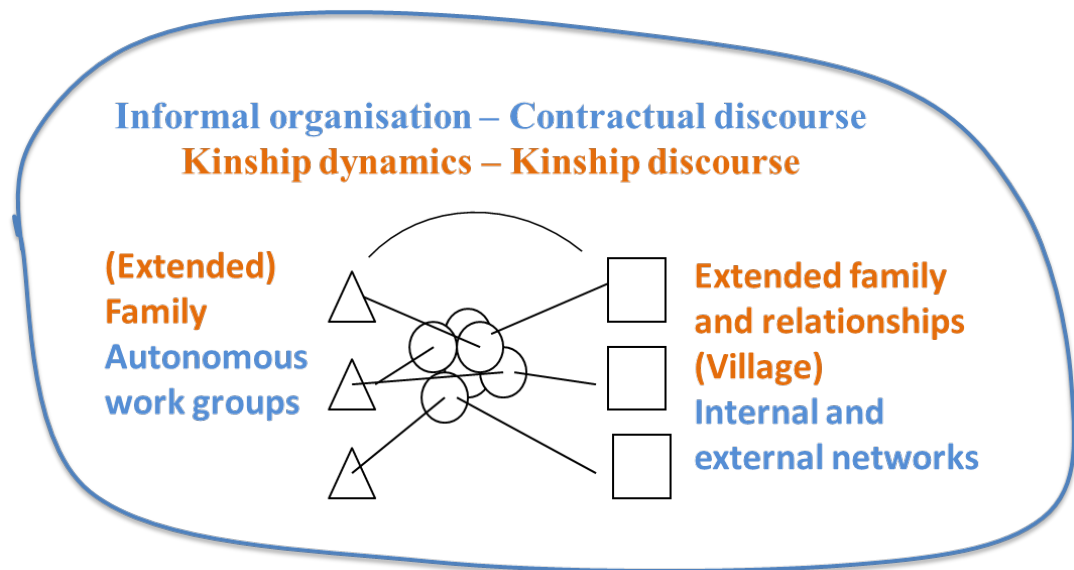
participants with increased management effectiveness as a result (Rinde 2012). Consequently, it is reasonable to argue that the ‘socialisation’ process will need a flexible framework that is different from the one existing in an ordinary hierarchical organisation. This interpretation is also in line with the argumentation of Beech and Maclean (2010), who discuss how non-hierarchical organisations facilitate communication between group members.

We may conclude that autonomous work groups in flexible organisations, operating like a missionary organisation, with face-to-face contact as the main communication form, create the space required to understand each other’s values. In the next section an organisational ‘model’ will be proposed.

6.2.4 Organisational proposition

This study proposes an organisational model in which people build relationships both internally and externally, i.e. the networking expands beyond the organisational border like communities of practice (Arnold and Randall et al, 2010) or social networking by Cross and Parker (2004). These constructions appear similar to the socialising dynamics of the extended family in the Kinship discourse (Spalding 1996, Dogbe 1980) Figure 6.2.4 below illustrates this concept. The blue text indicates the Contractual discourse, whereas the brown colour indicates the Kinship discourse. The figure builds upon ideas from many sources, but it is first and foremost made attainable through this study.

Figure 6.2.4 – Organisational space of communication



In the figure above, the two overriding discourses form the title. Immediately below and to the left the family concept is listed as a comparable construction to the autonomous work group. The term 'extended' is used to indicate the African family understanding as it incorporates family members beyond the 'nuclear' core family. To the right the expanded extended family is listed together with the village concept as at this level the village prevails as the 'overall' family construct. This is comparable to the internal and external networks in the Western management concept. The squares indicate the larger network constructs within both discourses whereas the triangles depict the smaller and closer units of the extended families. The lines indicate the interconnections on all levels shown as circles in the figure.

The overriding construct for the Contractual discourse is the informal organisation. This organisation contains the interaction in multicultural

autonomous work groups, which build networks inside and outside their organisation. The Kinship dynamics are the overriding construct of the Kinship discourse. The extended families are linked to form larger extended families and village relationships. The main communication mode in both discourses which builds strong relationships is the face-to-face communication. The practical implication and likely challenge is to present the Western autonomous work group as a working concept to a multicultural management group in a Western influenced industrial company in Tanzania. It may take some powers of persuasion to convince a management group to operate in this manner. It is highly likely that a coach will be needed.

The model incorporates more than one group at the centre and it is within its scope to contain groups other than the management group. The marketing and sales organisation for example can be organised in several autonomous work groups that focus on their specific tasks. The groups interact to secure optimum customer relationships.

6.5 SUMMARY OF THE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

The discourse analysis indicated that the embedded macro discourses of Orientalism and Kinship influenced how the interviewees constructed their stories. It revealed Europeans at various transformational stages. They constructed stories that still contained elements of Orientalism or racial bias. However, they may not have been aware that their opinions could be understood this way with, as earlier mentioned, all the assumptions of

different capabilities such differences entail as referred in the literature review section 2.3.5, page 32 and discussed for example in section 4.3.1, page 111). The indigenous Tanzanians, on the other hand, are also in a transformational phase - the discourses identified are used by a mix of ethnic groups. These findings represent another example of how the colonial discourse still seems to be present among people.

The analysis contained in this chapter is summarised below:

1. Two dominant discourses influence managers when they narrate, the discourses of kinship with the linked extended family and the discourse of colonialism with the linked discourse of education. The discourse of Ujamaa influence all these. Traditionally there was no difference between the discourse of Ujamaa and kinship. The difference was created by the political conception of Ujamaa by president Nyerere.
2. 'Tanzanians speaking' seems synonymous with Spivak's 'subaltern' speaking. The Tanzanians do so from two perspectives. They critique the knowledge and approach of the Europeans and they make use of their kinship related discourse when managing in Western organisations provided they control the arena, i.e. no Asians or Europeans are present. They may make use of their own language, Kiswahili, and kinship terms when they are fulfilling their management roles.

The influence of Kiswahili is not examined in the present study due to the researcher's lack of familiarity with this language, and not because of Tanzanians' inability to use it when conducting business in their management roles. The Tanzanians' ability to adopt kinship constructs in organisations is evident only when they control the arena, i.e. there are no Europeans in these organisations. In other words, one may argue that the Tanzanians must be allowed to practise their Kinship discourse.

3. Kinship and Contractual management discourses are identified, documented and labelled in the micro stories told by the interviewees. Section 6.2.2, page 208 substantiates the claim that they are able to 'speak' and make use of their own language constructs when they are in management positions (Spivak as discussed by Landry and Maclean, 1996)
4. Local discourses compared. When the two discourses, the Contractual and Kinship, are compared, commensurable dimensions appear (table 6.2.2.1, page 209). However, only when the micro stories are set within an organisational context are their commensurable dimensions identified.
5. **Organisational perspectives.** A model that assumes face-to-face communication between autonomous, multicultural groups is proposed, (see figure 6.2.4 page 217). The model attempts to reflect

the dynamics at work in the Contractual and the Kinship discourses building on their commensurable dimensions. The model indicates wider use than for the management group alone.

This chapter presented the analysis and discussions as well as the theorisation of two different, but potentially complementary/commensurable discourses. The next two chapters build on this work. In Chapter 7, the findings are briefly reconsidered and a theory is developed that may provide an answer to the research question. Chapter 8 recommends application of the theory and discusses contribution to research, limitations and weaknesses, reflections and further research recommendations.

7.0 – DISCUSSION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to consider the foregoing work more deeply and by so doing develop a theory of how to make use of the findings in this study.

Chapter 6 identified two discourses; the Contractual discourse of the Westerners and the Kinship discourse of the indigenous Tanzanians. It explored the dimensions of these discourses and proposed an organisational space of interaction.

As a reminder to the reader, the content of Chapters 4 to 6 is reconsidered below. This is also an expression of the increased understanding of the analytic work and the researcher's comprehension of what is going on in this study.

7.1.1 Recapturing Chapters 4 to 6

Chapter 4 presented the findings from interviewees with expatriates, Asians, all of Indian origin, and indigenous Tanzanians originating from several regions. The interviewees constructed stories of themselves and of the other. Two group interviews were conducted; one with Europeans only and one only with indigenous Tanzanians. All ethnic groups expressed personal views and how they felt about the other groups. In this way a broad story of each category of the ethnic groups emerged. All ethnic groups regarded themselves as better or at least the equal of the other

group whom they perceived as the 'Other'. The group interviews considered proposals for the composition of a management group.

Chapter 5 presented stories from the management experiences of the three ethnic groups interviewed. The stories were structured according to external societal and internal organisational themes. This structure is influenced by contemporary Western strategic thinking (Barney 2002, Grant 2005). The societal strategic terms related to the political programme of Ujamaa, the level of education among Tanzanians as well as the web of social relationships that represents the kinship construct. The consequence of Ujamaa, described as the 'socialist' years, and education were mentioned when stories of the internal organisational themes were constructed. They were frequently embedded in the other stories of work motivation and attitude, motivational factors, decision-making and also negotiations.

Both discourses of Orientalism and kinship influenced the interviewees when they constructed their stories. This was explored in Chapter 6, which identified two discourses, the Contractual and Kinship. These discourses have commensurable values that may constitute a space for 'socialisation' between multicultural management group members and exploration of their mutual values. Gradually, the process within this space may lead to socialisation implying that the management members learn and understand each other's discourses and develop a position in which they are no longer each other's 'exotic Other'.

Management groups may be organised like autonomous working groups within an informal organisational framework and an organisational proposition is suggested.

This chapter discusses the findings in Chapters 4 to 6 and how Western companies can make use of their own managers' local knowledge and socialise in a space that creates mutual understanding and acceptance of each other's values. The outcome seems to represent an alternative Tanzanian management discourse.

7.2 THEORY DEVELOPMENT

The theory development is based on the exploration of the two discourses identified – the Contractual and the Kinship. These discourses are two different knowledge systems that represent epistemologies and claim to know from two different starting positions in the organisational journey. The proposed theory may explain how we can understand communication in multicultural management groups in Tanzania based, Western oriented business organisations, and their ability to operate as business units over several decades.

The reflections and theorisations below primarily draw on the research findings with other studies referenced in support.

7.2.1 Contractual and Kinship discourse – a closer look

At this point, it is useful to review the two local discourses more closely and how they are constructed in figure 6.2.4, page 217. The Contractual discourse derives from the soft Western management approach called

‘informal organisation’, while the Kinship discourse derives from the extended family and social networks (Truss et al 1997, Dogbe 1980, Awedoba 2007). The two local discourses are influenced by two macro discourses: Orientalism (Said 1979) and the kinship social web of contacts (Dogbe 1980). The commensurable dimensions of the two local discourses are identified by examining their value systems. The commensurable outcome is expressed as respect, trust, loyalty, empathy, empowerment and equality (table 6.2.2.2, page 213). Both discourses are contextualised within the framework of an industrial Western-influenced Tanzanian management context.

The above description of the discourses represents a broad outline as both discourses influence each other. The colonial powers changed some of the social interaction patterns, some of which are still in force, and the original patterns cannot revert (Spalding 1996). However, we know from the societal practices, as discussed by Dogbe (1980), Owusu-Frempong (2005), Awedoba (2007), Appiah (1992) and Spalding (1996), that the social practices on the peripheries sustained the colonial influence. It is possible to infer that the destructive influence of the political Ujamaa represented an equally significant social influence as the colonial period, and not only a negative influence (subsection 5.1.2, page 155). The social relationships after the Ujamaa political programme may have become even more diversified, as Grace (indigenous Tanzanian) explains (see page 153). This diversity based on increased tribal inclusion is the type of relationship discussed by Nyambegera (2002) in his research. Similarly, Aldous (1964) and Alber and Martin (2010) suggest that despite change in

social practices, “the long-term constants of kinship organisation that make up the *web of kinship* in African societies” (p. 64) are still present. This is in agreement with the research of Dogbe (1980), Owusu-Frempong (2005) and Awedoba (2007), as well as the stories of the interviewees. In conclusion, the concept of the societal web of relationships called the kinship construct still actually exists, though the social practices may have changed.

As a result of the existence of the two discourses, the two groups of people talk with two different and partly opposing values expressed in their discourses, the Contractual and the Kinship (table 6.1.3, page 205). The Kinship discourse appears closely linked to the Spivak theory of the subaltern presented in her article “Can the Subaltern Speak?” (Spivak, 1988, as discussed by Landry and Maclean 1996). Based the research data one may claim that Tanzanians make use of their own language constructs derived from their social kinship when they work in a Western organisation. This claim may be further strengthened by the fact that they make use of their native Kiswahili language, although the interviews were all conducted in English due to the researcher’s lack of Kiswahili knowledge. However, the Tanzanians’ ability to speak is corroborated through observations and, locally, by the head of the Kiswahili Institute at the University of Dar es Salaam (Mulokozi 2002). He may be assumed to have a natural bias linked to his promotion of Kiswahili, however, he is convincing as he also refers to the easily observable fact that the government actively makes use of Kiswahili and publishes documents in Kiswahili (Mulokozi 2002).

The head of the Kiswahili Institute's avocation of Kiswahili and the LOITSA programme may represent a success. On 5 March, 2015

"President Jakaya Kikwete's [Tanzanian] administration announced last week, going forward, education in Tanzania will have Kiswahili as the sole language of instruction" (Mohammed 2015)

Thus, the lengthy process which Brock-Utne of the LOITSA programme promoted has ended with success. It is assumed that this decision will have positive consequences for education in Tanzania provided investments in the educational infrastructure accompany the declaration and that English remains a subject in schools and at the university.

Confusingly, the stories constructed by the interviewees do not reveal any clear-cut ethnic divisions in how they make use of a language that belongs to one of the two discourses. Some Tanzanians express Contractual management views and some Europeans are leaning more towards the Kinship discourse than to the Contractual discourse. The Asians, on the one hand, are positioned within the Contractual discourse. In other words, the interviewees appear to be in various transitional phases and are influenced by each other and their social environment. For all interview subjects the hybridity theories of Bhabha (1994) may explain their transitional phase and for the Tanzanians their transformation may also relate to explanations offered by Fanon (1986). Bhabha (1994) discussed the psychological transitional position experienced by expatriates influenced by their home social world and the local social world. Fanon discussed another psychological aspect and related it to authors who

experienced three phases: assimilation to the culture of occupants, frustration as they establish external relation to their own kind and eventually the awakening phase opposing the occupying culture (Fanon 1986). A further point needs to be added. In the interviews colonialism influenced all categories as a primary experience and affected some interviewees even more directly than others. However, the demand for anonymity prevents further exploratory comments and may explain why some interpretations of their story constructions may have been constrained.

Section 4.6.4, page 143 summarises the impression of the levelling between the ethnic groups interviewed. They seem all to consider themselves superior to each other and hence a clear ranking does not materialise. All interviewees are assumedly embedded in their own 'identity work' influenced by their consideration of how they are in relation to others (Watson 2007). It is probably an indication of the process to achieve an understanding of who they are and what they are consciously or unconsciously influenced by at the junction of their own biography and the societal history in which Orientalism and kinship appear dominant (Watson 2008).

In Chapter 5 'teams' were analysed, but not developed further (section 5.2.6, page 184). The analysis does not appear to be conclusive. Some forces within the kinship social web of relationships may have inspired Elton Mayo in formulating his Human Relations theories (Frenkel and Shenhav 2006). One indigenous Tanzanian pointed to the 'team' that seemed to form around him as a leader of youngsters in his boyhood. The

other Tanzanians referred to the extended family bonding and generally all interviewees mentioned the Western concept of team. The forces within teams may, in other words, be present, but ‘team’ as a natural word for the bonding and forces within the extended family may not represent a Tanzanian concept. Tanzanians will use a different word and even define it differently and adopt other words from their social environment.

7.2.2 Communicational space

In order for a management group to explore each other’s commensurable values, it is necessary that they do so in a framework which promotes expression of their own values. The interview outcome suggested the below option as it facilitates the imagination of the multicultural aspect. At the same time the composition would appear to justify the selection of the ethnic groups that were selected for interview. The positive attitude towards Sikhs was not known as they appear generally to fall in the category ‘Asians’ connoting a perception similar to those discussed in chapters 4 and 5.

Table 4.7.2.3 (page 147) Assumed combined group opinions




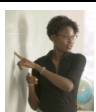
	MANAGING DIRECTOR	FINANCE DIRECTOR	TECHNICAL DIRECTOR	MARKETING DIRECTOR	HUMAN RESOURCE DIRECTOR
Assumed combined group opinion					

Table 4.7.2.3 shows that in this study the senior management group represents a ‘multicultural’ group, whether it only concerns the ‘inner group’ of decision makers, i.e. the managing, finance and technical director, or extends to the whole group of managers. It is essential for the

management group's members to address difficult issues without personal bias that prevents a rational process. The communication is supposed to take place between responsible adults in high positions. This process leads to another aspect that is discussed by Habermas in his communicative theories (Johnsen and Duberley 2000). Habermas claimed that "any communication rests upon the assumption that the speakers can justify their tacit validity claim through recourse to argument and discourse" (Johnsen and Duberley 2000:121). However, 'systematically distorted communication' may take place preventing rational argumentation and "produce a pretence of consensus" (Habermas cited by Johnsen and Duberley 2000:121).

Communicating, the management group could be in a very similar position ~~to~~ a multicultural language lesson group (Li and Umemoto 2010). They might have the advantage that they also know each other from social events. However, the previous chapters revealed that all ethnic groups regard the other as their 'Other'. This implies that the general knowledge of each other's culture is not particularly deep. Consequently, the management group members ~~are~~ could be in a position where they need to draw closer to each other. This is also very similar to the 'socialisation' process and creation of mutual trust suggested by Li and Umemoto (2010).

An organisational context that may facilitate such communication between the managers is discussed in the following section.

7.2.3 Organisational context

The theorisation in this chapter suggests an informal organisational context, Li and Umemoto's (2013) suggestion regarding autonomous working groups, which was discussed previously. Beech et al (2010) note how difficult it is even between academics and organisational members to discuss topics without positioning the other as of lower status. The research underlines that management group members not only perceive themselves as 'exotic other', but the discourses that guide their thinking also view the other as inferior or lacking in one or more qualities. The academics despite their qualifications in philosophy and reflective ability appeared not able to communicate on equal terms with their participating group members. Beech et al (2010) suggest that non hierarchical organisations may create equality. However, in this study, management group members are influenced by deeply embedded discourses without their awareness. Very few have the level of education and practice of researchers, but, as Beech et al (2010) argue, such education does not solve the issue of equality. Thus, the organisational context is likely to require more than the removal of hierarchical structures to facilitate the communication necessary.

The character of the tasks of the management group could be analogous to an ideological task and the process within missionary organisations (Mintzberg et al 1995, section 6.2.3, page 214). Embedded in the discourses that guide organisations, there are ideological or socio-political values that are closely linked to this perspective of the missionary

organisation. The members need to discuss topics not commonly discussed and the success of their interaction depends upon a softer approach than the authoritative voice they may be used to applying when the individual members present their viewpoints regarding their specific work areas. In this setting the management group members need to be open to other viewpoints to a significant extent and accept points that may be perceived as 'alien' to their thinking. The group members need to be encouraged to pull together to achieve a cultural understanding as part of their ordinary tasks.

When the senior management group discusses what form of organisation and what practice they may follow to adapt to or whether to adapt to the local culture at all, tensions of what to decide may arise (Huxham and Beech 2003). This will require a reflective and considerate approach that in itself will require time.

It is relevant to introduce an analogy at this point. In order to spread the 'word of God', the colonial missionaries brought with them the Bible, a sacred text. Could it be that the Western managers brought the 'Gods of Management' (Drucker) and their bible contained chapters like "Management by Objectives" (MBO) and "Command and Control" which introduced 'outsourcing'? The Western God was easily assimilated as the 'Africans' already had an established belief in God and this is probably not experienced as dominating as the Western management theories. It is implicit in this study and from the theorisations by African researchers like Zoogah (2008, 2009) that it is Western knowledge dominance. However,

the dominance may not be so complete as this story from a small scale industry in the Igbo society of Nigeria indicates (Cour and Snrech 1998):

Despite the failure of modern industry, however, small manufacturing industries are springing up, especially in the densely populated areas of the Igbo lands: spare parts, textiles, pharmaceuticals, etc. This may be the start of the intermediate sector, the “bottom-up” industrialization so eagerly awaited throughout the region (p. 67)

Living in Nigeria for some years and working in the industry, it is known that this industry makes spares complementing the originals parts and are called ‘pirate’ spare parts by the manufacturers of original branded spares.

Little is known about how this local industry is managed, however, such knowledge may contribute to the process that the management group in this study need to undergo in order to develop a Tanzanian contextual management model. This study indicates that there is knowledge embedded in local societal structures, and though it is not ready for use and needs to be processed, it appears as an operational and functional mode in management. The above quote about the small scale spare parts industry in Nigeria points towards “bottom-up” industrialization. A similar process could develop as a consequence of the process work in the management group and then the outcome may represent a balanced discourse between the Contractual and Kinship discourses.

The process in the management group may lead to enhanced cultural values that reduce the individualistic thinking of the Contractual discourse and promote the collective and humanistic values in the Kinship discourse. After all, the local operational context is vital for success and

may not be linked to technology, but to how human resources are explored.

The human relation theories of Elton Mayo were developed in non-industrial societies including Ghana (Frenkel and Shenhav, 2006). The outcome of the processes which the management group may undergo could lead to a return to humanistic values as 'theory of action', and represent a renewal of humanistic concerns in management and a modification of the 'Gods of Management' bible.

As part of their discussions the management group will encounter generalisations about Tanzania and Africa, which is an important point because many Westerners view Africa as a country. This is evident in several larger corporations and among many African researchers, who, despite their demand for contextualised research, make generalisations, like Kiggundu (1983). His discussion of bureaucrats in Namibia is considered by others as generalised behaviour among Africans (Beugré and Offodile, 2001). The research of the Sweden-based English researcher Archer indicates a significant difference between bureaucrats and business people that makes such comparisons biased (see Dagens Næringsliv, DN Magasin, Norwegian version of Financial Times, 16 August, 2015). The characteristics of top managers in private and governmental services are compared with some dimensions and the outcome on behaviour should not lead to generalisations.

7.2.4 Synthesis of Contractual and Kinship discourses

The introduction to this chapter proposes that the Contractual and Kinship discourses represent epistemologies and claims to knowledge from two different starting positions. Their identification offers an opportunity to develop a synthesis between the two. Provided the senior managers are able to create a functional organisational space, a synthesis of the two without any preconception of any of them may materialise. This raises the question of how reflective the senior managers need to be and how able they are to handle the tension as defined by Huxham and Beech (2008) and indicated above.

This study indicates a new 'African management' - in effect a synthesis of the Contractual and Kinship discourses achievable on the basis of the findings. The Contractual discourse is well documented. The Kinship discourse is indicated and needs to be further developed beyond the findings in this study, perhaps pointing to its contextual existence is useful. Obviously both Nkomo (2011, 2013) and Zoogah (2008, 2009, 2013) are aware of or assume the existence of local organisational knowledge and seek the contextual and indigenous research to confirm it. This study may offer a starting path. The difference of this approach and the ones recommended by for example Zoogah (2008, 2009) and Nyambegera (2002) is that here the process does not start in either of the discourses, but in their commensurable dimensions (see sections 2.3.2, page 20 and discussions in section 6.2.2, page 208)

The decision to explore different approaches to people management was made because people management is important for competitiveness (Barney 2002, opening section of this study (1.3, page 7). A potential management synthesis may constitute an improved organisational operation and as such be an important tool to achieve competitiveness and the expectation may even be a driver in the process. In addition, the implication of the managers as reflective practitioners may improve good management practices (Huxham and Beech 2003) that may influence other parts of the organisation as it may position the senior managers as role models (Bandura 1977 referred by Watson 2008:128).

7.3 CONCLUSIONS

The propositions in Chapter 6 may represent a viable approach to develop a mutual conception of the two discourses as well as a new Tanzanian management discourse with an unknown proportion of the two former discourses, the Contractual and Kinship.

The basis for the development of this model amounts to an application of the soft version of Human Resource management part of the Contractual discourse. This implies an informal organisation with group members on equal terms meaning that all have a voice within the senior management group. This group have the authority to organise in ways that meets the ideas of the proposition and set aside the recourses necessary to discuss choice of practices. A different and more time-consuming decision-making approach with acceptance of diversity may produce

culturally adapted practices that could result in a synthesis of the two local management discourses.

Chapter 8 suggests applications of the findings, the contribution to research, limitations and weaknesses, reflections and further research. In addition, my personal experiences as a researcher are considered.

8.0 – CONCLUSIONS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The aims of this thesis were (1) to explore the perceptions of themselves and other groups held by senior managers drawn from the different social groups involved in senior management in Western-owned or managed companies in Tanzania, and (2) to identify the discourses that drive these perceptions, and to establish the commensurabilities and incommensurabilities between these discourses. The research questions posed were:

- a. What evidence is there of a Western framework informing the ways in which senior managers in these companies speak about themselves and others?
- b. What evidence is there of an African framework in informing the ways in which senior managers in these companies speak about themselves and others?
- c. What are the Western discourses that inform these ways of speaking?
- d. What are the African discourses that inform these ways of speaking?
- e. What evidence is there of any synthesis of these contrasting discourses in the ways in which these managers speak?
- f. What are the implications for managerial practices in these and similar companies?

In fulfilment of these aims and answers to the first six of these questions, this thesis revealed a Contractual and a Kinship discourse. The Contractual

discourse is mainly derived from the colonial discourse of Orientalism and as such is heavily influenced by Western Human Resource Management concepts embodied in contracts of employment. The Kinship discourse is derived from the local community relations and as such is heavily influenced by the extended family and the associated relationships.

It was argued that these discourses constructed the management roles for the interviewees and revealed managers in various transitional phases between the discourses. The constructed management roles or social identity constructions influenced how the managers viewed both themselves and other ethnic groups. These perceptions both frustrated and facilitated diversification amongst managers. But it was also suggested that the management discourses in use may be transformed to a new African management discourse and represent a synthesis of the two.

The previous chapter fulfilled the aims and provided answers to the first six of the research questions. This final chapter answers the last of the questions. Its purpose is to make use of the theory development in the previous chapter. It suggests how managers in Tanzanian, Western oriented companies may apply the theory. Its application might improve their organisation's long-term competitive position through improved people management. Reflections and further research are also discussed.

Two partly opposing, partly commensurable discourses are identified. The Western oriented managers apply their Contractual discourse, while the Tanzanian oriented managers apply their Kinship discourse. The commensurable dimensions between these two discourses

are explored and serve as a starting point for a communicational space and an organisational context. The recommendations for the organisational practitioner are presented in section 8.2. For the academic practitioner the recommendations are embedded in all sections and expressed particularly in sections 8.3 and 8.5, the research recommendations.

8.2 FINDINGS AND APPLICATIONS

Some guidelines for application of the findings are suggested in what follows. The findings suggest a flexible organisation that defines a particular space in which to enhance group communication. It is structured as a combination of flexible work group organisation drawn from Western management theories (Mintzberg et al 1995) and the dynamics within the social web of contacts that represent the kinship social web of relationships in Tanzanian discourse (Dogbe 1980, Spalding 1996).

8.2.1 Management group composition – Communication space and organisation

The outcome of the research indicates a broad outline of management group composition. It is perhaps incongruous, but this study suggests that the least problematic issues concern Europeans in transformation and the indigenous Tanzanians. The Northern Europeans seem to have adapted to the local environment in ways acceptable to the indigenous Tanzanians. The reason may be the egalitarian view of these societies and the transitional position of the Europeans. The findings serve as a general guideline for the management composition and are expressed in table

4.7.2.3, (page 147 and 229). Considering this table as a possible guide, it is worthwhile noting the perceived difference between Asians and Sikhs.

The management working group needs to construct a 'space' in which they may communicate on equal terms. This implies that all group members are listened to and that their opinions influence the outcomes of discussions. The formal leader needs to cede his natural dominant position to ensure that all members' contributions are respected. The character of the group is autonomous in that group members take responsibility for their own learning and acquisition of new skills from the processes within the group. The suggested organisation structure is presented in figure 6.2.4 on page 217 and is embedded in what is called a flexible organisation.

As guidance for European managers, in particular, they need to be aware that indigenous Tanzanians make use of kinship terminology to position themselves as leaders in Western oriented organisations. Similarly, they make use of concepts from the extended family to create and maintain loyalty and bonding in their organisation. They do not use English words, or translate Western concepts into Kiswahili, but instead employ actual kinship words and concepts with meanings relevant to a Western organisational context. The two quotes below may illustrate this point. The first quote concerns the status of Grace (indigenous Tanzanian) as the undisputed (autocratic) leader and, at the same time, incorporates components of the extended family:

"... act as if an Elder ... here at our institution they look at me as an elder sister, for the men, and for the young girls that are around, they look to me as a mama, ... because [they] don't call me executive director."

Then, Grace explains the links to her culture when managing and the perception of an autocratic African leader disappears as she describes an atmosphere of high dedication and motivation, i.e. she reflects on the traditional non autocratic style or Western soft management concept:

“... people do not forget their culture, in their management positions ... You should be happy, you should be able feel compassion, to feel happiness and sharing and rejoicing with the people that you spend your working time.”

The above can be expressed in the local language of Kiswahili. One may assume that the Kiswahili words contain stronger connotations than equivalent English words. This should encourage all members of the management group to acquire knowledge of Kiswahili. Likewise, the Tanzanian managers should be aware that the Western expatriates operate what is called here ‘contractual discourse’, which is positioned within Western management discourse. As such, it is influenced by the Orientalist discourse as theorised by Said in his book *Orientalism* (1979). Orientalism is discussed in this thesis and may offer certain insight (section 2.3.3, page 25). The Kinship social web of relationships are described in section 2.3.4 (page 31).

The management groups have the advantage that they can decide whether they wish to work as an autonomous group, which they probably do already. They can decide that no member should intervene and act like a dominant manager during their discussions. For a period, they may decide that they will take the time necessary to reach a common agreement and construct some guiding rules for their work. Reflections

may need time to mature and several discussions may be needed to elicit all dimensions of decisions and their consequences (see section 8.2.2, page 243). The freedom the managers grant themselves this 'space' of interaction is dependent on the top manager and his willingness to cede power to the whole group, and not only to his closest collaborators. The behaviour of the managing director is in other words imperative to create the space necessary for all members to express their opinions and have a say in the group.

8.2.2 A complex process

When the multicultural management group explore the commensurable values of their discourses, they may have an opportunity to create together a new Tanzanian management discourse that contains knowledge from both the Contractual and Kinship discourse. Implicitly, as already mentioned, the groups would need to develop their own framework that allows all members to contribute and speak in an atmosphere of mutual trust (Li and Umemoto, 2013). The character of the process in the work group resembles an ideological work group that is not very different from the missionary organisational proposal by Mintzberg et al (1996). The work in the management work group relates closely to perceptions linked to the overriding macro discourses of Orientalism and Kinship. The management work may be perceived to be ideologically oriented. The macro discourses represent how unconscious discourses influence the perceptions among the management group. The process to reveal unconscious influences may represent the same process as making implicit and tacit knowledge explicit

or reveal knowledge. This is also the reason why Li and Umemoto (2013) refer to theorisations of group work by Nonaka (1994), which were critiqued and modified by Tsoukas (2002) and Day (2005).

The 'socialisation' process among the managers is obviously an important factor in creating knowledge regarding each others' understandings within the management group (Li and Umemoto 2013). However, the real challenge may come when tensions arise as choices between alternative forms of management and practices. The theory is briefly presented in section 2.4.2 (page 44). It is intended to represent a conceptual technique and we should be aware of this regarding the mentioned tensions in a short and a long term perspective. The 'tool' or theory provides opportunities to give time to reflect on how, for example, one decision may lead to a situation that creates another tension.

In other words, managers should be aware of the complexity and this complexity should in turn stimulate reflections regarding the choices available before decisions are made. Managers should resist the notion that deep theory or, as it may be conceived, deep reflection can be avoided in pursuit of efficiency or pragmatism. Theorisation and reflection are encouraged and according to the theory developed in this thesis, this will lead to what Huxham and Beech (2003) refer to as 'good management practices'.

The identity work of the managers is closely linked to this understanding of how they perceive others and themselves and how they want to be and be perceived by others (Watson 2008). When they are perceived as representatives of 'good management practices', they may

represent role models for others (Bandura 1977 referred to by Watson 2008:128). Such self-understanding should encourage the managers to make the effort to use their resources to position themselves favourably versus others.

With the work of these authors in mind and considering the management group in this study, members of the top management team need to create the knowledge necessary to comprehend the value that is represented in the discourses they apply in their communicative actions. The managers have to become consciously aware of their implicit references to discourses which influence their behaviour. In this way, they become aware that this is a dynamic process. It will change each of them and others in the organisation as it progresses, and they may experience changes in their language and contribute to a new culture (Lo Bianco, 2003, Maruyama, 1984 cited by Li and Umemoto, 2013).

8.2.3 Towards a new managerial discourse

The process in the management group may enable the managers to see each other's values expressed in the commensurable dimensions. Mutual respect, trust, empathy, equality and empowerment to speak freely are sustained. As a result, these managers are no longer their other's 'exotic Other' and together they form a new management discourse.

This represents a unique discourse arising from the research and one that in the long run may increase the competitive position of organisations as they are able to explore further their human resources in line with contemporary strategic management thinking (Barney, 2002,

Grant, 2005). The new discourse may also contribute to research in the way in which unique African terms and references are applied to illustrate theoretical management dimensions and to diminish the dominance of Western management discourse. The contributions that the thesis makes to this field of research are discussed in the next section.

8.3 CONTRIBUTION TO RESEARCH

The organisational change and the identification of a commensurable dimension may serve as a response to the ongoing discussion among African and Western researchers who see the need to increase African contextual research and add knowledge to African companies (Nkomo and Zoogah, discussed by Lituchy et al., 2013, Zoogah, 2009, Jack and Westwood, 2006). For these researchers, it is not a question of simply presenting the wealth of Western industrial knowledge to African organisations. It needs to be adapted to the cultural environment and this adaptation requires the support of local and contextualised research. The challenges are not concerned with the technology, but the leadership and management-(Zoogah, 2009). The desire of Zoogah (2009) and Nkomo and Zoogah (2013) is to create a synthesis between Western and African knowledge, and they realise that African knowledge does not exist as a readily available knowledge system (Antweiler, 1988). The critical postcolonial approach of Westwood (2006), Jack and Westwood, (2006, 2007), Nkomo (2011) and Jack et al. (2011) reveals the influence of the Orientalist discourse and supports the findings in this study. The analysis and theorisation here build upon their work.

The need to establish African oriented knowledge rests on several factors including development of an African management discourse in African companies. Of course, this is further necessitated by the growing industrialisation of Africa and the desire amongst Africans in general to be independent. This is strongly stated by one of the indigenous Tanzanians:

“I want to be respected, I want to be appreciated, I want be paid for my competence, and passion, training and not because of the colour of my skin” (Ema, indigenous Tanzanian).

Africans want to be independent from former colonial masters, who through financial organisations and investments still exercise power and influence in Africa (Calderisi, 2007).

The organisation presented in Chapter 6, figure 6.2.4, page 217, facilitates the space for knowledge evolvement or synthesis, whatever one may choose to name the process. The organisational elements in this figure represent the building blocks of an organisation in which the commensurable dimensions can be explored. This is not a dismissal of Western management knowledge, but an appreciation and use of the embedded knowledge in African social kinship. The theory may be relevant and transferable beyond Tanzania as it does not rest on any particular African or European concept, but on commensurable dimensions identified in the discourses representing both cultures. This represents a particular strength of this study.

In summary, there are three key findings that facilitate the advancement of theory in this field of research. First, the identification of the management discourse in use by the indigenous Tanzanians. Second,

simultaneously this identification contributes to Spivak's subaltern theories and confirms that the subaltern *can* speak and does have knowledge that allows them to legitimately contradict and reject the Orientalist discourse. Thus the subaltern can express a management discourse in their own native language. Third, the starting point to construct a Tanzanian management discourse is the commensurable dimensions and these cannot be captured by one of the identified Contractual or Kinship discourses alone. The balance between the two depends upon the senior managers' ability and competence to organise themselves and reflect around their decision making.

8.4 LIMITATIONS

The obvious limitation of this research is linked to factors such as theorising in Norway, and away from the context in which the data were collected. The data collection is embedded in Western reasoning, though probably modified by a combination of African and Western industrial and societal experience. As far as it is known, no Tanzanian or African or African American researcher has conducted similar research. Thus, although this research is conducted by a professional expatriate, and in spite of the connotations and embedded prejudices, his first formative African experience dates from just after the colonial period with the past 'masters' still very much alive. Perhaps this experience, time span and Sub-Saharan African business experience has facilitated transformation and contributed deeper understanding of what takes place in organisations in this context.

There is arguably a tendency to draw on personal, anecdotal but experiential knowledge. This is almost inevitable, though every effort has been made to avoid bias and undue reliance on past experience to ground arguments. Field research of this qualitative type is scarce and similar studies to support the findings do not seem to be readily available, though valuable research guidelines are provided by, for example, Nkomo and Zoogah (2013), Jack and Westwood (2006, 2007) and Frenkel and Shenhav (2006), as well as anthropological researchers like Spalding (1996) and Antweiler (1998). External and local literature has supported the findings, such as the LOITSA project headed by Brock-Utne (2002–2011) and the book *The Promise* by Maliyamkono and Mason (2006). Otherwise, the literature served as support for argumentation. However, the work of Nyambegera (2002) may be an exception, as it is contextual and addresses the complex subject of tribalism.

The research took place in the local geography of Dar es Salaam and a rural village area near the Kenyan boarder, which may not represent an average Tanzanian community. Not many managers were interviewed. Their representations varied but they spoke with many years of experience and had an extended network, both local and external. Discretion in terms of confidentiality and anonymity does not allow describing them in detail, but at least the dimension of transformation among some Europeans appears well founded. All in all, despite the few interviewees, the well-informed respondents, who were carefully chosen, provided rich data. In particular, the voice of the Tanzanian female managers provided a key dimension of the findings. It was the voice of indigenous Tanzanians

speaking in their own language in Western influenced organisations. They needed no translation of their management discourse. Their voices were not silenced by Orientalist discourse as no white expatriates were present in their organisations.

This study is concerned with Western oriented companies in Tanzania and only management group members and/or potential ones are interviewed. They are all top leaders and decision makers within their organisations. Due to the few organisations in each field, no particular category of manufacturing industry is targeted. The aim was to identify mature, competent managers in the contemporary understanding of this expression.

As such, qualitative research is an approach with its own strengths and limitations. For example, in this research induction is used to move from the particular towards the general, rather than positive deduction which gathers large quantities of data to lead to the specific. The research outcomes need to be verified through further research and by deductive reasoning to the extent that human relationships in cultural contexts are reflected (Bryman, 2008). The richness of the data allows a significantly deeper analysis and search for explanatory theories. It may be viewed as a more thorough pre-qualitative study than that usually applied before a survey. In other words, it provides a better basis for hypothesis testing. Nevertheless, it is still questionable whether surveys are able to reveal the depth of knowledge that qualitative analysis reveals in cultural contexts. As an experienced marketer, I would not rely upon a survey from markets in Sub-Saharan Africa, but rather add a qualitative research to explore local

answers to the questions posed. Experience from surveys in Ghana and Tanzania guided by experienced researchers from BI Norwegian School of Management supports this reasoning, (BI Norwegian School of Management 2015).

The above comments are no critique of the BI approach, which produces reliable outcomes in Europe, but related to the findings in this study. The difficulty of conducting surveys in Tanzania relates not only to technology constraints such as access to the internet, but also to language and, importantly, the two different discourses of communication identified and discussed in this study. It must never be assumed that Western words mean the same to a Tanzanian with his or her understanding linked to different perception. Only when these words are investigated as having the same meanings as reflected in the commensurable dimensions is it possible to make use of them. This underlines the need for contextual research to be conducted by experienced researchers.

8.5 REFLECTIONS

Qualitative research is defined by rigour, trustworthiness, craftsmanship, communication and pragmatic credibility, as discussed in section 3.3.5, (page 87). The first requirement discussed is **rigour**. In this study the interactive process represents a strategic process. It is not possible to determine in advance the outcome of the research or what kind of answers the analytic work will reveal. This research began as a grounded theory approach, which was later augmented by a narrative approach and, eventually, the need to apply additional discourse analysis materialised. Combining these three incremental phases of analysis ensures rigour.

The literature review represents a constant search for new dimensions and supporting evidence. It is not an advance on theorisation based upon hypotheses or firm assumptions. It is not possible to assume the existence of the Contractual and Kinship discourses or their potential commensurable values. This is the character of qualitative research as explained by Bryman (2008). Furthermore, the interactive process removes the finding from the fictional and anecdotal level, as it is a constant process to support findings beyond experiential knowledge as documented primarily in the interpretation of the research data.

However, questions around reliability, such as 'Can the research be replicated and would it produce the same outcomes?', may be raised. In qualitative research the term 'reliability' (used in positivist research) should be replaced by others such as 'consistency' and 'trustworthiness'. In other words, there is no claim of repeatability. Instead, as qualitative researchers we seek to assure readers and reviewers that findings are consistent with the data and can be trusted as reasonable and justifiable explanations of what was experienced by our interviewees. In a wider context, the research question implies identification of localised knowledge and this agrees with the aim of the aforementioned researchers like Nkomo and Zoogah (2013). The research approach is described in such detail that others can conduct similar research. The question is whether it will produce the same results given that different persons and locations are the subjects of study, though still within industry in a Tanzanian context. As the findings are related to the value systems not only of the interviewees, but also of African philosophy (Dogbe, 1980) and Western humanistic thinking (Truss et al., 1997,

Furnham, 1997), the likelihood of producing similar outcomes is certainly possible. The challenge regarding consistency and trustworthiness in this thesis is thus met. The sample size is limited, but the stories are congruent along important dimensions that support the commensurable dimensions. The profiles of the respondents cannot be discussed in too much detail due to the need for anonymity in a rather small industrial community.

A particular **strength** of this research is the fact that other researchers have tested the humanistic approach in Tanzania with successful outcomes (Kanawaty and Thorsrud, 1981). Their democratisation process builds upon the commensurable values identified. The implications of this are twofold: it reveals justifiable interpretations and that other researchers in other locations and with other interviewees will obtain results indicating that one may use for practical purposes the commensurable values offered in this study in the workplace. This is likely to be independent of current, at least shorter-term, societal trends of development. This point may initiate a different set of reflections. Why, for example, do the Western world's managers seem to subdue humanistic values? Have Western societies entered an unsustainable phase by structuring everything encountered into measurable and economy-oriented building blocks? Are we now faced by protest from other societies against how we are subduing humanistic values? Answers to such questions lie outside the parameters of this thesis and will not be discussed further, but they have been considered and their importance noted as possible areas for future research. Instead, the reader is referred to a Ghanaian

researcher, Jahoda (1961, cited in Dogbe 1980: 794), who: “wants to throw overboard the individualism of the West”.

This discussion leads to the dimension of **credibility**, that the knowledge claims are so convincing and powerful that they carry validation (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). For this to happen, the procedures must be transparent, the outcomes evident and conclusions intrinsically convincing. The procedures and approaches in this study are documented with the aim that others should be able to conduct similar research (3.3.5, page 87). What cannot be copied and documented is the **craftsmanship** of interviewing, which is defined by the way one behaves and the ability to form a rapport with other persons and elicit their stories (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). This, as a result, enforces other dimensions; for example, that the research is **communicative**, and the supporting arguments are convincing. From a critical perspective, it is difficult to imagine that the work group as outlined above could not work in an organisation. The test of the humanistic approach by Kanawaty and Thorsrud (1981) represents positive support. The core argument derives from the fact that the commensurable dimensions build upon values embedded in two different cultures which also contain opposing dimensions, namely, collectivism versus individualism. The theoretical concept is linked to values and discourses with commensurable values and not only dominated by values embedded in one of the discourses. This is a strength that safeguards credibility.

Following this brief self-critique, it is argued that the research is rigorous, trustworthy, communicative and credible as discussed in section

3.3.5 (page 87). That said, more research by Africans would have been of benefit and this is discussed in the section below.

There may be criticism of the findings that the commensurable dimensions represent general platitudes that are obvious in any reasonable and leveraged communication. The theory of action gives us a different image as exemplified by the postcolonial discourse or Orientalism. This discourse was constructed to subjugate whole continents, throughout the Middle East, Far East and the whole of Africa. Consequently, these humanist values cannot be viewed as anything other than words of high value as they oppose the racist theory of Orientalism that downgrades other people to ignorant primitives (Said, 1979). The findings in this study underline that both Africans and Europeans need to take the concerns implied in these values seriously if they want to leverage their communication and develop something together. In addition, they need to be more open to each other's values and knowledge, to listen and reflect and act with respect as demanded by the indigenous Tanzanians, with the agreement of Europeans, in this study. This is a central point in the recommendations for making use of the present study.

8.6 FURTHER RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS

Society in Tanzania is rich and full of unexplored contexts. What was first omitted from this study for pragmatic purposes was academic research using the organisational practitioner lens of the sort deployed by anthropological researchers investigating extended families, the village systems and their traditions including the ceremonies around the 'stool'. The stool (used to sit on) is the symbol of kings or chiefs' power and is

linked to the ancestral belief system. Secondly, further organisational research involving collaboration between an academic researcher and an organisational practitioner (senior manager) could be very illuminative and productive. They represent the diversity of approach and demand for outcomes and may consequently learn from each other (Mohrman et al, 2011). The research should take place as a well prepared undertaking with close interaction between a researcher and an organisational practitioner. The management of the organisation or organisations subjected to research needs to be fully committed to the organisational undertaking as noted by Thorsrud and Kanawaty (1981). Ideally, the research should be a continuum over time as credible and trustworthy outcomes are seldom quickly realised. Realistically, a pilot operation could be perceived to represent a risk reduction and as such attract the organisational practitioner in the organisation subjected to research. Thirdly, this study focuses only on the top managers and not their staff. In order to obtain an even better understanding of the discourses and their suggested application, the staff should be included in any follow-up study.

Finally, in terms of future studies, this study reveals, but does not examine in any detail, the presence of the Chinese and their behaviour in the marketplace. The-significant and growing influence of China has become evident in the last decade (Alden, 2007); rich Chinese culture represents another form of ontology that may replace the Western one. This would be very interesting to consider and may open up research avenues beyond Sub-Saharan Africa. Alternatively, according to Alden (2007), the Chinese can also be viewed as the new colonial masters.

Observing their activities, not only in Tanzania, there is certainly some justification for this description and again a longitudinal study of the Chinese influence may be very illuminating in terms of future research.

8.7 PERSONAL EXPERIENCE ARISING FROM THIS RESEARCH JOURNEY

The starting point of the journey, and my identity as an expatriate manager, was unconsciously influenced by a discourse whose name I did not even know then. My initial experiences of Africa were in the early 1970s, when I was introduced to life in Lagos, Nigeria, which was still under the influence of previous colonial representatives. Marketing profession encounters in sales contributed to more diverse views of Nigerians as they represented the majority of buyers. Without realising it, a transformational phase was taking place even at that time.

The next phase in experiencing and understanding African culture occurred in the early 2000s, whilst I was working as a Sales and Marketing Director in Sokoto, Nigeria. The main job was to re-establish the company in the local market. The customers were primarily Nigerians and their perceptions represented the primary input in building the local brand and building a distribution network including transport logistics. The sales and marketing organisation was reformed (Champy, 1995) and the market strategies of Day (1999) influenced the change. Earlier cultural experience in the United Arab Emirates, Solberg (2002) enabled a comparison between the Muslim societies of Sokoto and UAE and a construct of transferred understanding between Muslim cultures. This conceptualisation was discussed with a local researcher at the ICLC & Usmanu Danfodiyo

University, Sokoto (Buba 2005). His feedback enabled an increased comprehension of the local environment. The doctoral study served as a well come opportunity to try to understand the influence of the Orientalist discourse and the influence of individualism in the Western discourse. The collective and values of Sub-Saharan African countries represent a strong contrast.

The outcome of this study differed from initial conception as it was not possible to form a hypothesis to be verified and theorised. However, past experience and research outcomes are now congruent. Hopefully, this research contributes to the dialogue between researchers. It may represent a first step in the road to achieving a pattern of equality and an African management discourse to replace the dominant Western contractual discourse within Western oriented organisations.

Have I become any wiser, more knowledgeable? And am I able to manage differently, or rather am I more engaged and curious in the management role? I have learnt dimensions which in the earlier part of my career were only partly understood. Sometimes, I established organisational structures that agree with the findings, but I did not have sufficient knowledge of the opportunities they offered to make full use of them. Besides, in a busy management environment, hesitations and reflections are not welcome if the results are satisfactory. The need for reflective actions and to grant this process time has increased. I will conclude that I am more curious and I will be more engaged as new understanding and opportunities emerge.

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Appendix I - Introduction to the Study & Consent Form

Appendix II – example of discourse analysis

Consent Form

Appendix

I

Study title: UNDERSTANDING THE INTERACTIONS WITHIN
WESTERN ORIENTED TANZANIAN FIRMS BETWEEN
PEOPLE OF DIFFERENT CULTURAL BACKGROUNDS
AND HOW THEY JOINTLY CREATE COMPETITIVE
ORGANISATIONS

Have you had opportunity to read the separate introduction to this study, page 2?	YES/NO
Have you had the opportunity to ask questions and discuss the study?	YES/NO
If you have asked questions have you had satisfactory answers to your questions?	YES/NO/ NA ^{*)}
Do you understand that you are free to end the interview at any time?	YES/NO
Do you understand that you are free to choose not to answer a question without having to give a reason why?	YES/NO
Do you agree to take part in this study?	YES/NO
Do you agree to the interview being audio-recorded?	YES/NO
Do you grant permission for extracts from the interview to be used in reports of the research on the understanding that your anonymity will be maintained?	YES/NO
Do you grant permission for an extended, but anonymised, extract from the interview to be included as an appendix in the final report?	YES/NO

^{*)}NA = not applicable

Thank you very much for agreeing to take part in an interview for my research.
The purpose of this form is to make sure that you are happy to take part in the
research and that you know what is involved.

SIGNED.....

NAME IN BLOCK
LETTERS.....

DATE.....

Introduction to the study

My name is Carl Ottar Rafner. I am a doctoral student on the DBA (Doctor of Business Administration) program at Bradford University School of Management. I have travelled and resided many years in African countries mostly working within sales and marketing.

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The purpose of this study is to understand the communication within African firms between groups of different cultural background. How are they together creating competitive organisations?

Over the years, I have observed how some companies are mastering the African environment better than others. Why are they succeeding? Within contemporary strategy, there are two key elements that matter, the material resources and the human ones. The latter is considered the overall most important element and underlines the need to comprehend the human aspect of the market place. Exploring the human resources may enable a company to optimise its relations to all stakeholders like employees, customers, suppliers, authorities and other interested parties.

Competitive advantage stems from differentiation and positioning. For companies to benchmark and copy other organisations are not considered sustainable to obtain a competitive advantage. Such processes may only lead to less differentiation and less competitiveness. It is not possible to copy a well-functioning organisation, as the relationships within such organisations are a combination of explicit and implicit knowledge processes.

The ways people communicate between themselves decide how they relate to each other, perceive each other and together form a unique organisation. This is not an investigation of personal relationships as such rather an exploration of phenomena like attitudes, assumptions, trust and generalisations we all have about each other because we are working together with different backgrounds.

I will now ask you some questions related to the above. Your view, experience and in particular stories will be of high interest and most valuable to me.

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Colour coding: Subaltern rejecting, taking own knowledge stance Kinship language in use Orientalist influence Hybridity Binary Dimensions

Analysing the Subaltern (Tanzanians) taking their own stance and oppose (speak) the Orientalist influenced Western Expatriate

Topics	Micro stories	Micro events	Definition of micro stories (The meaning of the micro stories)
SUBALTERN SPEAKING Taking a stance towards Western expatriates orientalist exposure	“What i thought was very interesting, the partnership with the Danish people as they came, they asked as what would like us to do together”, (Grace, indigenous Tanzanian)	Partnership Do together	Tanzanians or subaltern evaluate the western expatriates Tanzanian Judge western approaches Tanzanians select which to apply Binary: Objecting Western knowledge Choose communal/kinship related solution Tanzanians reject preconception and superiority of Western expatriates – they reject Orientalism
	“I found that most refreshing”, (Grace)	Refreshing	
	“They come with preconceived ideas that Grace not do A, B, C, D and then you will get there”, (Grace)	Preconceived ideas Will get here	
	“When I see a white expatriate working in Tanzania for example, what I don’t see he is doing a miracle or he is doing something that may be a local cannot do, (Godwin, indigenous Tanzanian)	White expatriate not doing a miracle Not doing something a local cannot do	Tanzanian takes own stance of knowledge Tanzanian judges and evaluates Tanzanian equals himself to the white expatriate and local manager Binary: Tanzanian is opposing Western superiority
	... “(The former boss) would read something, let say about emotional intelligence, (...3), after reading that thing he would like to find a cliché or four and cream it, so that when he, she makes the speech, she refers to that cliché, ... For me this does not work, the most important thing is to grasp the learning in the contemporary management theories, (Denis, indigenous Tanzanian)	Cliché or four cream it when he, she makes the speech, she refers to that cliché,	Tanzanian evaluates the performance of his boss Tanzanian rejects western expatriate superiority Tanzanians own opinion of learning enables him to judge what is important Binary: Own judgement based localised knowledge not accepting Expatriate version

(Adopted from Hardy and Phillips, 2002:77)

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Colour coding: Subaltern rejecting, taking own knowledge stance Kinship language in use Orientalist influence Hybridity Binary Dimensions

A) Continued

Topics	Micro stories	Micro events	Definition of micro stories (The meaning of the micro stories)
Achieve support (and commitment)	<p>"Tanzanians are very friendly, they are very generous, and they are keen to learn, but when you involve them ...</p> <p>...otherwise they will run away from you, they will be shy from you.</p> <p>....but once you show them that if you are trying to help them to, but if you don't show that they will shy away from you and they are not giving you support", (Juma, IT)</p>	<p>Involve them</p> <p>Keen to learn</p> <p>Run away</p> <p>Shy you</p> <p>Trying to help</p> <p>Shy, not give support</p>	<p>Tanzanians insist on kinship related Involvement or they shy away</p> <p>Tanzanians define demands on the expatriates local knowledge</p> <p>Tanzanians are keen to learn (as all Africans usually are)</p> <p>Tanzanian accepts Western learning and assistance</p> <p>If Tanzanians shy away, managers will loose their support</p> <p>Binary: Own integrity versus Western knowledge and superiority</p> <p>Forming their own action space</p>

(Adopted from Hardy and Phillips, 2002:77)

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Colour coding: Subaltern rejecting, taking own knowledge stance Kinship language in use Orientalist influence Hybridity Binary Dimensions

A) The application of the kinship bonding or dynamics in the business organisation

Topics	Micro stories	Micro events	Definition of micro stories (The meaning of the micro stories)
KINSHIP IN ORGANISATIONS (Subaltern speaking back applying own language constructs – Spivak) Making use of kinship knowledge representation in business organisation and makes use of own language constructs	"You have to, you really have to because, you don't live in isolation, you live with the people and you spend a lot, 8 hours at work .. You should be happy, you should be able feel compassion, to feel happiness and sharing and rejoicing with the people that you spend your working time, instead of the sleeping time at home ... but when you are here, you are concentrating on your work here, your colleagues so need to be happy at the office so quite, that is how, that's my philosophy", (Grace, indigenous Tanzanian)	... Don't live in isolation ... 8 hours at work ... to feel happiness and sharing and rejoicing with the people ... your colleagues so need to be happy at the office	Kinship bonding, kinship with indirect reference to the core of the kinship, the extended family contextual reference Sharing happiness and rejoicing (caring) Colleagues also need to be happy Altogether the content family rejoicing (extended family)
	"I will not have survived if we had been working strictly on the on the strict business without that kind of, kind of community or sympathy from the others" "...is because of the commitment of all of us, the commitment of the workers, the commitment of the people I work with", (Ema, indigenous Tanzanian)	Not survived if Strict business Without kind of community Because commitment all of us Commitment of people working with	Ema reference to communal behaviour found in kinship system and difference to Western concept of individual cynism Care and commitment for each other Contrasting Western contractual – not survived if strict business
	"These people have grown together in the company. Now we are together, we have a history of 10 years working together. .. That was my aim that I meet the people from Tanzania so that we can grow this (institution) together, (Grace, indigenous Tanzanian).	Grown together History together Grow this (institution) together	Refers to time together – relationship oriented – "growing together" Creates togetherness - binary to efficient, economic orientation and hard core (team) orientation

Combining narrative composite stories and discourse.

(Adopted from Hardy and Phillips, 2002:77)

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Colour coding: Subaltern rejecting, taking own knowledge stance Kinship language in use Orientalist influence Hybridity Binary Dimensions

B) Communicate with Tanzanians

Topics	Micro stories	Micro events	Definition of micro stories (The meaning of the micro stories)
	<p>... Language is very important, how you communicate with the locals is very important”, (Toor, Asian)</p> <p>“They are hugely entrepreneurial, the problem is they, they doesn’t apply entrepreneurial skills on or channel the right direction ... in favour of their organization”, (Stan, European expatriate)</p> <p>“Yes, so essentially you have to understand them, and know how to tap their potentials. ... Talk to them, get them in, after you get them in, however, tough the thing is, simplify it, look like, voluptuous, good, and then get them in, and then implement what you meant, you achieve the same targets. ... But one will be achieved with pain while you achieve them softly”, (Denis, indigenous Tanzanian)</p> <p>... “They (Tanzanians) are not, they don’t look at things the same as Europeans do ... They want to see that you are listening; they want to see that you are interested They want to hear you say; “Yes, I will consider it” even though you know that the answer is going to be NO And all rest, all the rest flows, flows that, from the respect aspect”. (Stan, European expatriate)</p>	<p>... Language ... how communicate</p> <p>... hugely entrepreneurial ... not apply, channel right direction ... favoured their organisations</p> <p>... Tap potential ... Get them in ... Look voluptuous good Implement what you mean ... Achieve them softly</p> <p>... Don’t look at things the same as Europeans ... listen ... see you interested ... I will consider it ... even if NO ... the rest flows</p>	<p>Communication language, a levelled or empathic language important. Set demands on the Western practitioner</p> <p>Tanzanians revealed as capable Western shows inability to harness their energy in right direction towards the business organisation Westerner reveals to ground cultural knowledge or reflection</p> <p>Tap the potential by involving Convince, but do also offer something and then implement. Knowledge from local culture</p> <p>Represents a soft approach, but also a somewhat power dominant approach (autocratic?)</p> <p>Tanzanians view things different from Europeans – different value set Tanzanians demand respect, be listened to and taken seriously</p> <p>Knowledge and consideration of local culture a must Part of communal, consensus seeking</p>